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# REIGN OF THE STUARTS.

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BIBLIOTHECA · BODLEIANA

# MEMOIRS

OF

# THE COURT OF ENGLAND

DURING

## THE REIGN OF THE STUARTS,

INCLUDING

## THE PROTECTORATE.

BY JOHN HENEAGE JESSE.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
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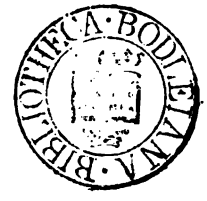
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# PREFACE.

It is a fact, which cannot have escaped observation, that while French literature abounds with private memoirs and personal anecdote, our own is deplorably deficient in agreeable chronicles of this nature. To the author, or rather compiler, of this work, the want appeared to be less owing to the absence of materials, than to a requisite diligence in bringing them to light; in a word, that there existed a supply of latent stores in our own language (buried, as it were, among voluminous records and forgotten pamphlets) sufficient to form a succinct social history of distinguished

characters, who figure more or less in every portion of our annals.

With this view of the subject, it occurred to the author, that the private history of the Reigns of the Stuarts and of the Protectorate, — their families, and others intimately connected with the Court,—would present a series of agreeable and instructive anecdotes; would furnish the means of introducing the reader to the principal personages of their day, and of exhibiting the Monarch and the Statesman in their undress; while, at the same time, it would afford an insight into human character, and a picture of the manners of the age.

It could not escape the author, that some of the anecdotes contained in the present volumes, have already appeared in more than one popular work of modern date. But it would have been impossible for him to follow out his intended plan, and to give

a complete and distinct form to his sketches, without partially treading in the footsteps of other writers: in those instances, however, where he has been compelled to make use of the same materials, his researches, whenever it was practicable, have been extended to the fountain-head.

The author now ventures to put forth the present volumes as a portion only of his labours. Should others agree with him in thinking that a work like the present has, in any degree, supplied a desideratum in our literature, he will consider himself fully repaid for the trouble it has cost him; at the same time, he is free to confess that he would have been as well pleased, had the task fallen into abler hands.

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# MEMOIRS

CONCERNING

# THE REIGN OF THE STUARTS.

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## JAMES I.

### CHAPTER I.

Reign of James the First.—Unwarlike Character of that Monarch. — Untimely Ends of his Ancestors. — Advancement in Parliamentary Liberty.—Room in which James the First was born.—Misfortunes of Mary Stuart.—Reception by Queen Elizabeth of the News of James's Birth.—Baptism of James. — Queen Mary's Imprudence. — Coronation of the Royal Infant.—James and his Tutor, Buchanan.

THE reign of James the First is eminently deficient in matters of stirring and general interest. A timid Prince, a people not discontented, a long peace abroad, and a tolerably submissive Parliament at home, supply but meagre materials to the historian. It is not, therefore, too much to expect, that, in the private history of the individual, in the manners of the time, and the intrigues of the Court, some slight compensation may be found for the absence of more important events.

The peaceable career of James, and his unwarlike character, are the more remarkable, when we reflect on the eventful history of the unhappy and turbulent race from whence he sprang. With the Stuarts, misfortune had been hereditary. For six generations, his immediate ancestors, with the single exception of a broken heart, had met with violent and untimely ends. His mother had suffered on the scaffold, and his father fell by the hand of an assassin; and it is singular that James should have stood between two crowned heads, his mother and his heir, who were the first and almost only instances in modern times, of the Sovereign suffering by the hands of the executioner. It would appear indeed as if Providence had conferred a peculiar blessing on the peace-maker. His ancestors, fond of war and familiar with bloodshed, had with difficulty retained possession of their birthrights, while James, who even shuddered at the sight of a drawn sword, became master of a kingdom threefold the value of his inheritance. We must remember, however, that, in James, the love of peace was less the effect of principle than of constitutional infirmity.

The slight differences which occurred during this reign to ruffle the quiet tenor of public feeling, arose almost entirely from subjects of a religious or Parliamentary nature. It was solely the fault of James that his career at home was not in every respect as peaceable as it was abroad. His endeavours to encroach on public liberty caused, in a great degree,

the opposition of his Parliament; his attempts to conciliate all parties, in matters of religion, ended in his satisfying none. The great source of interest which his reign produces, is derived from the gradual advances which were effected in Parliamentary liberty. With little to engage their attention abroad, the Commons began to be jealous of their privileges, and the nation at large of its rights; these are the circumstances which throw a peculiar, and almost the sole political interest over the reign of James. It is as curious as it is instructive to watch the birth of that spark, which burst forth in the wild rage for liberty in the succeeding reign. James had really less of the despot in him than Elizabeth; but the nation could bear the golden chains of the one, while it contemned the clumsy fetters of the other.

James the First was born in Edinburgh castle, 19th June, 1566. The apartment in which he first saw the light was, within the last few years, and probably still is, a guard-room for soldiers. In those who are influenced by local associations that apartment must still excite no slight degree of interest; less, perhaps, as the birth-place of James, than as being identified with the sorrows of Mary Stuart. The clouds of misfortune had gathered fast around that beautiful but imprudent woman. She had irretrievably disgusted her nobility by her impolitic preference of the arrogant Italian Rizzio, and her people by her open exercise of the Romish faith; her misunderstandings with her husband, the weak and showy

Lord Darnley, had produced positive hatred and consequent misery on both sides. The ministers of the Puritan or Reformed Church, were daily intruding their conscientious brutality in her presence, or promulgating their rebellious tenets among her subjects; and, within a very short period, the blood of her favourite servant Rizzio had been actually shed before her face,—a remarkable scene of violence, when we consider that her own husband, who ought to have been the first to cherish the wife who was shortly to become a mother, and the Lord Chancellor, who should have been foremost to protect the laws and the person of his Queen, were the principal actors in that detestable outrage.

The Queen and the Puritan Clergy were equally anxious to baptize the heir to the throne, according to the ceremonials of their respective faiths. An Assembly of the Church, which happened to be convened at Edinburgh at the time, while they sent to congratulate the unfortunate mother, expressed their great solicitude on the subject. The Superintendent of Lothian, a man of a milder nature than his fellows, was their delegate on the occasion. Mary received him with her usual sweetness, but returned no answer as regarded the principal object of his mission. She sent, however, for the royal infant in order to introduce the Superintendent to his future King. The minister fell on his knees and breathed a short prayer for his welfare: he then took the babe in his arms and playfully

told him to say amen for himself, which the Queen, says Archbishop Spotswood, "took in such good part as continually afterwards to call the Superintendent her *Amen.*" This story, in after life, was repeated to James, who, from that period, always addressed the Superintendent by the same familiar name.*

Immediately after the birth of the Prince, Sir James Melvil was despatched by Mary to convey the intelligence to *her sister*, the Queen of England. The account which Melvil gives of this mission is perhaps the most amusing part of his Memoirs. Elizabeth was in high spirits, enjoying herself at a ball at Greenwich, when the event was announced to her. Notwithstanding her habitual self-command, and the fact that the possibility of such an event must have been long a source of anxiety, the jealous feelings of the woman prevailed, and her chagrin was but too evident. The dancing instantly ceased, and the Queen sat down in her chair, leaning her head upon her hand, and remaining for some time speechless. "The Queen of Scots," she said to one of her ladies who inquired the cause of her melancholy, "is the mother of a fair son, while I am but a barren stock." She did not fail, however, to call dissimulation to her aid, and the next morning, when Melvil received his audience, she appeared gayer and better dressed than usual;

* Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 196.

and, though she deceived no one but herself, expressed the sincerest affection for the Queen of Scots, and joy at her happy delivery.

The innocent cause of this jealousy was baptized at Sterling, 17th December, 1566, by the Bishop of St. Andrews, according to the rites of the Romish Church. Such of the Scottish nobles as professed the Reformed Religion absented themselves from the ceremony. His godfathers were the King of France and Philibert Duke of Savoy; Elizabeth consented to be his godmother, and by her representative, the Earl of Bedford, sent a present of a golden font, valued at three thousand crowns. After the conclusion of the ceremony, the young Prince was publicly proclaimed by the hereditary titles of Prince and Steward of Scotland, Duke of Rothsay, Earl of Carrick, Lord of the Isles, and Baron of Renfrew. According to Sir Theodore Mayerne, who subsequently became the physician of James, the wet nurse of the young Prince was a drunkard, and it was owing to her milk becoming thus vitiated, that, though early weaned, he was unable to walk alone before his sixth year.*

The birth of an heir to the throne ought not only to have added to Mary's influence at home; but, with proper management, Elizabeth might have been forced to acknowledge her as her successor to the crown of England. Nothing, however, could exceed Mary's egregious imprudence and,

* Ellis, Orig. Letters, vol. iii. 198, Second Series.

shall we add, iniquity, at this period. Within the short space of two years, the greater number of those incidents occurred which have thrown so much of fearful, yet romantic, interest over her history. The murder of her husband, and her consequent marriage with Bothwell; the insurrection of Lord Hume; her confinement and forced abdication at Lochleven; her romantic escape from that fortress; the battle of Langside; and her flight into England —are all included in that period, and closed every hope of her again enjoying the sovereign dignity. In order, however, to weaken her remaining influence still more, and to strengthen the claims of her son, it was decided that the young Prince, though only thirteen months old, should be solemnly crowned in her stead. The inauguration of the royal baby was performed at Stirling by the Bishop of Orkney, 29th July, 1567. The coronation sermon was preached by the celebrated John Knox; and the oaths, that he should maintain the Reformed Religion, and administer equal justice, were somewhat unscrupulously taken by the Earl of Morton and Lord Home.* Soon after the ceremony, the republican party, whose hopes were naturally elated by the events which were taking place, caused a coin to be struck, on which was inscribed the well-known motto of Trajan: *Pro me; si merear, in me.*—"For me; and if I deserve it, against me."

* Spotswood, p. 211.

James was a pedant even when a boy. His tutor, the famous historian Buchanan, though he communicated to him a portion of his learning, imparted but little of his own elegant taste to his royal pupil. In the treatment of his charge, he appears not only to have been laudably uninfluenced by rank and circumstance, but to have behaved himself towards James as the most rigid disciplinarian. On one occasion the young King was engaged in some boisterous sport, with his playfellow the Master of Erskine, at a time when Buchanan was deeply engaged in his studies. The tutor was annoyed, and declared that he would administer a sound flogging if the interruption continued. James announced stoutly that he should like to see *who would bell the cat;* at which the tutor started up, threw away his book, and performed the threatened chastisement most effectually. The Countess of Mar,* hearing the King's cries, rushed into the apartment, and catching the boy in her arms, inquired authoritatively of Buchanan, how he dared to touch the Lord's Anointed? "Madam," replied the imperturbable tutor, "I have whipped his Majesty's breech, and you may kiss it if you please."† To his playfellow, the young Earl of Mar, James ever continued his regard. The Earl

* Lady Arabella Murray, daughter of the Earl of Tullibardine, and Countess Dowager of Mar. She had been nurse to King James, who afterwards entrusted his son, Prince Henry, to her charge. † Lord Somers's Tracts, vol. ii. p. 227.

afterwards became enamoured of Mary Stuart, daughter of Esme Duke of Lennox, and on her rejecting him, became the victim of despondency, and fell seriously ill. "By my saul," said James, "Mar shanna dee for e'er a lass in the land!" Accordingly he interfered in favour of his early companion, and Lady Mary eventually became his wife, and the mother of his children.

Such an impression had Buchanan's discipline produced on the mind of James, that many years afterwards, when King of England, the miseries of his tutelage, and the austerity of his old master, continued vividly to haunt his imagination. He used to say of a certain person about his court, that he trembled at his approach, "he reminded him so of his pedagogue."* And on another occasion, he is described as dreadfully agitated by the appearance of his former corrector in a dream, and as vainly endeavouring to soften the fanciful displeasure which he had incurred.† These are curious illustrations of the independence of mind in the one, and the constitutional timidity of the other. It may be observed that, in his writings, James more than once speaks slightingly, and even acrimoniously, of his old tutor.

The elegant Buchanan was far from satisfied with the mere progress which his pupil had made in classical and theological learning. At a certain

* Osborne's Advice to his Son.

† Curiosities of Literature, vol. iii. p. 259.

audience, which was given by James to a foreign Ambassador in his boyhood, it was found necessary that the conversation should take place in Latin. The foreigner happened to be guilty of several grammatical errors, in every one of which James, with equal pedantry and ill-breeding, thought proper to set him right. The Ambassador accidentally meeting Buchanan, after the audience was at an end, inquired of him how he came to make his illustrious pupil a pedant. "I was happy," said the historian, "to be able to accomplish even that."*

* Add. MSS. Brit. Museum.

## CHAPTER II.

James's first Speech to his Parliament — his Aversion to Business — his lukewarm Interposition with Elizabeth on Behalf of his Mother — his Selfishness — his pusillanimous Indifference at the Death of his Mother.—Cavalier Treatment of James by the Scottish Clergy — his Subserviency to the Puritan Priesthood.—Anecdote.—James's Taste for personal Allusions in the Pulpit.—Treaty of Marriage between James and Anne of Denmark.—Delay in the Arrival of his Bride —his Voyage to Norway in order to conduct her Home.— Strange Document.—The Marriage.—Visit to the Court of Denmark.—Return to Edinburgh.—Coronation of the Queen.

In his thirteenth year James began to interfere with affairs of state, and met his Parliament for the first time. He said a great deal respecting the benefits of peace, and mentioned his anxiety to maintain the interests of the Reformed Religion, and to remedy public grievances.* Probably, young as he was, James had some hand, if not in the composition of, at least in the matters to be discussed in, this juvenile oration. At all events, it is curious to find him commencing his first speech with the subject of peace; a principle and a topic on which he acted and harped to the last.

* Sanderson, p. 92.

He showed his aversion to business at a very early age; so much so, that he was in the habit of signing whatever papers were brought to him, without either reading or making himself acquainted with their contents. To correct this pernicious habit, his tutor Buchanan adopted the following scheme :—One day, when the young King was preparing to set out on a hunting excursion, he placed before him a document containing a formal abdication of his kingdom. It was signed, as usual, without inquiry into its purport. On the return of James in the evening, Buchanan produced the paper, and pointed out its contents. At the sight of what he had done, the King burst into tears. Buchanan comforted him by throwing the document into the fire; at the same time seizing the opportunity of enlarging on the injustice which he might be guilty of to others, as well as to himself, should he hereafter persist in so indolent and injurious a practice.*

James's tears at this period seemed to have been easily brought to his assistance. When, in 1582, in his seventeenth year, his person was seized at Ruthven by the rebel lords, his first impulse was to weep. "No matter for his tears," said the Master of Glamis; "it is better that boys should weep than bearded men."†

From a person who felt his own griefs so deeply,

* Peyton's Divine Catastrophe, in Secret Hist. of James I. vol. ii. p. 330.

† Spotswood, p. 320.

we can scarcely expect much sympathy with the sufferings of others. His cold indifference at his mother's death, and his previous lukewarm interposition with Elizabeth in her behalf, can never be sufficiently reprobated. Of an age when the best feelings of our nature are generally warmest in the heart; with a chivalrous nobility urging him to avenge the unparalleled indignity which had been offered both to himself and his country; with the means of obtaining powerful foreign aid both from France and Spain,* James, with the exception of some slight blustering, (arising less from any feeling which he entertained for his mother's dreadful situation, than from the apprehension that her death on the scaffold would interfere with his own prospects,) submitted tamely to his own dishonour, and the ignominious execution of his only parent. There can be no question that, as a matter of mere policy, James acted wisely in not breaking with Elizabeth; but who can forgive the man, who, on so sacred a subject, prefers the cold dictates of interest to the common impulse of natural affection? Alas! James had a pension to lose, and a kingdom *in prospectu*. And how does he act when he finds that his mother's death is fully agreed upon, and that her days are numbered? He sends to the

* There is also reason to suppose that the King of Denmark, with whose daughter a treaty of marriage had already been set on foot, would have supplied James with ships.—*Sanderson*, p. 134.

principal Divines to desire that they will pray for her in their churches. It is an undoubted fact, that the Master of Gray, James's accredited agent to intercede with Elizabeth for his mother's life, and who, the King must have been well aware, was entirely in the interest of the English Queen, if he were not actually in her pay, gave private intimation to the English ministry, that if Mary's execution would not be allowed to prejudice James's expectations to the English throne, "her death would be forgotten."* The Master of Gray afterwards confessed before the Scottish council, that he had, in fact, advised the Queen of England to take away the life of her rival; recommending, only, that she should be made away with by some underhand means, instead of by a public execution. He acknowledged, also, that he had made use of the significant words, *Mortui non mordent.*—"The dead do not bite." He was sentenced to banishment; a decision much cavilled at, at the time, for its extreme leniency.†

The ruling and obstinate idea which occupied the mind of James, was an apprehension lest the manner of his mother's death should prove a bar to his own succession to the English throne. It was this selfish fear, and not the affront to his feelings or his diadem, which we find the English ministers most anxious to combat. Even previous to the death of the unhappy Mary, the Earl of Leicester, probably

* Spotswood, p. 355. † Ibid. p. 363.

by Elizabeth's directions, addressed a letter to James, in which, though clothed in the most Jesuitical language, he points out the worldly advantages which would accrue to him by submitting quietly to his mother's execution, and even indirectly asks his concurrence. To any other monarch but James, the insolence and bad taste of such an epistle would have been intolerable. "She is the person and Prince in this world," says the Earl, speaking of Elizabeth, "that may do you most good or most harm; let no persuasion or desire let you think otherwise."* And again Lord Hunsdon writes to him after the fatal blow had been struck, offering to procure a declaration, signed by all the judges in England, that the execution of his mother could in no way interfere with his legitimate claims.

We are informed, though the authority is questionable, that when Henry the Fourth sent his ambassador Sully to James, inviting him to join with him against Elizabeth, by which means he might satisfy his revenge, the young King answered, that he was unwilling to fall out with the Queen of England, for his mother's death had left him more secure on his throne than ever.† The Scottish nobles were greatly disgusted at the indifference of their young Prince. Instead of appearing in mourning, as had been ordered by the King, Lord Sin-

* Spotswood, p. 353.

† Divine Catastrophe of the House of Stuart.

clair presented himself at court in full armour, as the garb best suited to the occasion.*

It has been already remarked that, in his mother's extremity, James had applied to the principal ministers of religion to remember her in their prayers. This order, with the exception of his own chaplains, and a Mr. David Lindsay, the minister at Leith, was universally disobeyed. James indeed was treated quite as cavalierly by the Scottish clergy (and stood just as much in awe of them) as by his nobility. The following anecdote is highly characteristic of his subserviency to the Puritan priesthood, and of the pulpit familiarity which was permitted at the time. James had fixed on a particular day, on which prayers were to be offered up for his unfortunate mother in the several churches, and had selected the Bishop of St. Andrews to officiate in his own presence on the occasion. As soon as this order became known to the principal oppositionists, they induced a young man, a Mr. John Cowper, to ascend the pulpit, and to forestall the Bishop in the performance of the service of the day. The King, says Archbishop Spotswood, seeing Cowper in the place, called to him from his seat, and said, "Mr. John, that seat was destined for another; yet since you are there, if you will obey the charge that is given, and remember my mother in your prayers, you shall go on." Cowper replying that he would do as the Spirit of God should direct him,

* Lord Somers's Tracts, vol. i. p. 239.

was commanded to leave the place. This order he showed no inclination to obey: accordingly the captain of the guard proceeded to pull him out; on which he burst forth as follows: "This day shall be a witness against the King, in the great day of the Lord," and then denouncing a woe to the inhabitants of Edinburgh, he went down, and the Bishop of St. Andrews performed the duty.*

James was, to a certain degree, indebted for these insults to the discussion of familiar subjects, and the personal allusions which he himself encouraged in the pulpit. This taste continued to the last period of his life; nor was he ever known to be displeased as long as the preacher hit his courtiers somewhat harder than himself. Even when seated on the English throne, a conscientious, or perhaps discontented, clergyman would occasionally proceed to such lengths as to keep the courtiers in continual alarm, lest anything disagreeable to the King, or injurious to their own interests, should transpire. On these occasions they distracted his Majesty's attention by the best means in their power. A jest well introduced, or a facetious remark, seldom failed in such an emergency. Among those who were best acquainted with James's character, and who thus pandered to his amusement, was Neile, Bishop of Lincoln, and afterwards Arch-

* Spotswood, p. 354; Sanderson, p. 120.

bishop of York.* This prelate was constantly at James's side, and whenever anything was uttered, especially from the pulpit, which he was unwilling should meet the royal ear, diverted the King's attention by some "merry tale." Arthur Wilson was himself present at a sermon which was preached before James at Greenwich, when the following remarkable scene took place. The preacher, one of the royal chaplains, selected for his text, Matt. iv. 8. "And the devil took Jesus to the top of a mountain, and showed him all the kingdoms of the world, saying, 'all these will I give,'" &c. He first proceeded to demonstrate the power of the devil at that period; he then brought his kingdom down to the present time, expressing his belief that, as the devil was in possession of such large dominions, there could be no doubt but that he had his viceroys, councillors of state, treasurers, secretaries, &c. This gave him an opportunity of attributing the

* Richard Neile, the son of a tallow-chandler, was born in King Street, Westminster. He rose, by a rapid gradation of preferment, to be master of the Savoy, Dean of Westminster, and, successively, Bishop of Rochester, Litchfield and Coventry, Lincoln, Durham, Winchester, and Archbishop of York. Both Prynne and Wilson accuse him of Arminianism, but his orthodoxy is defended by Laud. "He died," says Anthony Wood, "as full of years as he was of honours, an affectionate subject to his Prince, an indulgent father to his clergy, a bountiful patron to his chaplains, and a true friend to all who relied upon him." He was buried in Westminster Abbey. Fasti Oxoniensis, vol. i. p. 159.

several vices, of which James's advisers were accused, to the ministers of his Satanic majesty, and portraying their characters accordingly. At last he came to the devil's treasurer, when he fixed his eyes on the Earl of Cranfield, a man notorious for his exactions, and lord treasurer at the time, and pointing at him with his hand, exclaimed in an emphatic manner, "That man," (repeating the words,) "that man, who makes himself rich and his master poor, is a fit treasurer for the devil." Cranfield all this time sat with his hat over his eyes, ashamed to look up; while James, who was placed above him, sat smiling, like a mischievous school-boy, at his minister's discomfiture.

A treaty of marriage between James and Anne, daughter of Frederick, King of Denmark, had been set on foot as early as the year 1585, though not fully concluded till 1587. The death of the Danish king in this latter year still further delayed the completion of the marriage. When the match with Denmark was first proposed to James, he is said to have displayed the grossest ignorance as to the history and respectability of that country, and to have objected to the alliance on the ground of the unworthiness of that kingdom to furnish him with a consort.* Everything, however, was at length settled. The

* Melvil, p. 164. It is possible that James's objections might have arisen from the crown of Denmark being elective.

marriage ceremony had been performed in Denmark, by proxy, in August 1589, and James was anxiously expecting the arrival of his bride, when he received the news that she had been driven on the coast of Norway, and had determined to defer her voyage till the spring. It is amusing to discover a solemn historian of the period gravely attributing these delays to the machinations of witches. One Agnes Simson, "a matron of a grave and settled behaviour," actually confessed, that, at the instigation of the Earl of Bothwell, she had applied to her familiar spirit, (whom she was in the habit of invoking by the words *holla, Master,*) to take away the King's life. The demon, she said, informed her, that on this occasion his powers had failed him; giving her his reasons in *French,* a language of which she was ignorant, though she was able to repeat the actual words of the spirit—*il est homme de Dieu*;* a compliment to James which he, no doubt, fully appreciated.

Notwithstanding the powers of witchcraft, and the terrors of the sea, of which latter James stood greatly in awe, he was so eager to behold his future consort as to determine on proceeding in person to Norway for the purpose of conducting her home ;† the only act of gallantry on his part

* Sanderson, p. 159.

†The interest which he took in the approaching ceremony is discoverable by a letter which he addressed to Lord Burghley,

which history has been able to record. Previously, however, to leaving Scotland, he thought proper to indite, for the satisfaction of his subjects, and as an apology for his own morals and matrimonial projects, one of the most singular manifestos which has been ever published by royal authority. This document was written entirely in the King's own hand, and deposited

and which is still preserved among the Lansdown MSS. In this epistle he particularly recommends to his lordship's favour some merchants whom he has sent to London, to purchase dresses for the interesting occasion.

RIGHT TRUSTY AND WELL-BELOVED,

We greet you heartily well. Having directed the bearers, Robert Jowsie and Thomas Fenlis, merchants of Edinburgh, toward London for buying and provision of certain abulzementis and other ornaments requisite for decoration of our marriage, we have taken occasion to recommend them to your great courtesy, heartily requesting and desiring you to interpose your good will and mind to their expedition and furtherance in that concern, so that they be in no wise interrupted nor hindered in the performance and execution thereof, but may receive quick and hasty despatch; as ye will report our right special and hearty thanks and do us acceptable pleasure. Thus we commit you to God's good protection. From the Canonry of Ros the 19th day of July, 1589.

Your loving friend,

JAMES R.

I pray you further this * * * * read; it is on an extraordinary occasion.

To our right trusty and well-beloved
The Lord of Burghley,
Great Treasurer of England.†

† Ellis, Orig. Letters, vol. iii. 29.

with the Clerk of Register, who, according to directions he had previously received, presented it to the Council the day after the King had set sail; the royal intentions having been kept as profound a secret as was possible. In this strange document James mingles, in the quaintest manner, a defence of his powers of continence with that of his physical fitness for the marriage state; as if the public had anything to do with such matters. Alluding to the circumstances by which his marriage had been deferred, he thus proceeds: "My long delay bred in the breasts of many a great jealousy of my inability, as if I were a barren stock; these reasons and innumerable others hourly objected, moved me to hasten the treaty of my marriage; for, as to my own nature, God is my witness I could have abstained longer, nor the well of my patrie could have permitted. I am known, God be praised, not to be very intemperately rash nor concety in my weightiest affairs, neither use I to be so carried away with passion, as I refused to hear reason." Again, alluding to the popular belief that he was entirely governed by his Chancellor, he thus childishly continues: "I kept it" (his project of joining the queen) "generally close from all men; so I say, upon mine honour, I kept it so from the Chancellor, as I was never wont to do any secrets of my weightiest affairs, two reasons moving me thereto, first, because I know

that if I made him on the council thereof, he had been blamed of putting it in my head, which had not been his duty, for it becomes no subjects to give princes advice in such matters; and therefore, remembering that envious and unjust burding he daily bears, of *leading me by the nose*, as it were, to all his appetites, *as if I were an unreasonable creature, or a bairn that could do nothing of myself*, I thought it pity to be the occasion of the heaping of further unjust slander upon his head."*

James set sail, October 22, 1589, and after a prosperous voyage arrived in Norway, not far from Upslo, where the Princess of Denmark had taken refuge; and where the marriage was eventually solemnized. His dread of the sea is mentioned by more than one writer, and in his farewell manifesto he himself alludes to his anxiety on the subject: "As for my part, what moved me, ye may judge by that which I have already said, besides the shortness of the way, the surety of the passage being clear of all sands, forelands, or such like dangers; the harbours in these parts so sure, and no foreign fleets resorting upon these seas."

Shortly after the marriage ceremony, James pro-

* Spotswood, p. 378. An ancient abridgment of the Records of the Scottish Privy Council, from the year 1562 to 1684, which also contained these remarkable passages, was in the possession of the Boswells of Auchinlech, and was published by Sir Alexander Boswell, in the notes to his poem of "Clan-Alpine's Vow." See Secret History of the Court of James I. vol. ii. p. 331. Edinb. 1811.

ceeded with his bride to pay a visit to the Court of Denmark, where he remained during the winter, and did not return to his dominions till May 20, 1590.* During his stay in Denmark he constantly attended the courts of law, with the object of obtaining an insight into the legislature of that country; he afterwards, according to Daines Barrington, added to the Scottish law three statutes for the punishment of criminals, which he had borrowed from the Danish Code.†

The day following the arrival of the royal party in Edinburgh, the Council met for the purpose of fixing a day for the Queen's coronation. There happened to be no Bishop in Edinburgh at the time, and the clergyman, whom James had honoured by selecting him to perform the office, positively refused to officiate, unless the ceremony of unction, which he asserted to be Papistical and of Jewish origin, were omitted. James was obstinate on the subject, and so was the clergyman, who, moreover, was supported in his opposition by the principal Puritan ministers. The consequence was, that a very learned discussion was carried on between James and the Church, in which, as regarded controversial skill and theological knowledge, the King certainly proved his superiority. It was only, however, by threatening that he would wait the arrival of a Bishop, that a

* Sanderson, p. 253.

† D'Israeli's Enquiry into the Literary and Political Character of James I. p. 216.

divine, Andrew Melvil, rather than that the ceremony should be Episcopalian, consented to perform it as the King wished.* The Court put forth its rude splendour on this occasion. There was a succession of banquets and masks, and the rejoicings lasted for two months.

* Spotswood, p. 380.

## CHAPTER III.

The Gowrie Conspiracy.—The suspected Conspirators.—Details relative to the supposed Attempt on James's Life.—Execution of the Retainers of the Gowries.—Investigation of the Affair.—Confiscation of the Estates of the deceased Earl.

The Gowrie conspiracy, by which we are to understand the real or pretended attempt on the life of James, by the Earl of Gowrie and his brother, Alexander Ruthven, is too memorable and too mysterious an event to be passed over in silence. We must recollect, that it has not to this day been clearly ascertained, whether there were really a treasonable intention on the part of Gowrie, or whether the plot were not altogether a specious contrivance of the King, in order to get rid of a dangerous subject.

The suspected conspirators were the sons of that Earl of Gowrie who had been executed some years previously for seizing James's person at Ruthven. Soon after his father's death, the young Earl had permission to travel abroad, and it is said that, at Padua, he adopted an heraldic device on which were a hand and a sword aiming at a crown. There is another story, that, when at Orleans, a fortune-teller predicted to him, that he should become melancholy

from the effect of love, that he should be possessed of great power, and that he should die by the sword.* On his way home he paid a visit to the court of Elizabeth, on which occasion he is said to have fixed his affections on the unfortunate Arabella Stuart.

James, who had previously restored him to his father's honours and estate, received him with much kindness on his return; his brother Alexander he made a gentleman of the bed-chamber, and on their sister he conferred one of the principal posts about the Queen.† The character of the Earl, at this period, appears to have been drawn according to the political prejudices of the different writers. By one party he is described as proud, insolent, and ambitious; by the other as amiable, kind-hearted, and strictly disposed to the duties of religion. At the time of the plot he had only just completed his twenty-first year, while his brother was but nineteen.

Previous to fixing a crime on a suspected person, the first step is to investigate the motive which he might have had in view. In the present instance two inducements have been mentioned,—the desire to revenge the death of a father, and the hope of supplanting James on the throne. The first of these suppositions clearly loses its weight from the fact, that the late Earl was put to death during the minority of the King, who could therefore have had no voice on the occasion. With regard to the second deduction, it appears, to say the least,

* Sanderson, p. 226. † Spotswood, p. 457.

extremely improbable, that so very young a man, without any adequate force, without the remotest probability of ultimate success, should have been rash enough to embark in so hazardous an enterprise. The circumstances, as regard the supposed attempt on James's person, are commonly related as follows :—

The King was residing at Falkland for the purpose of indulging in his favourite sport of hunting, and, on the morning of 5th August 1600, was sallying forth with his hounds, when Alexander Ruthven, looking pale and agitated, rode up to his Majesty, with the information that a person, supposed to be a Jesuit, and having a large amount of foreign gold about him, had been intercepted by his brother Lord Gowrie. To this intelligence he added a request, that the King would ride to his brother's residence at Perth, by which means he expressed his belief that some important secrets might be extracted from the suspected person. From what we know of James's character, this part of the story certainly carries with it an air of truth. Such an investigation was exactly suitable to the King's tastes, for he peculiarly prided himself on his talent for cross-examination and power of eliciting the truth; besides, the thought of the gold was probably not without its consideration. He accordingly expressed his intention of honouring Gowrie with his presence at dinner.

After continuing the sport for a short time, and having killed a buck, James, accompanied by the

Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Mar, rode to the residence of the Gowries. No sooner had he finished his repast, and the attendant noblemen had been seated for a similar purpose, than Alexander Ruthven approached him; intimating that now was the most favourable moment for examining the stranger. The King rose and followed Ruthven to an upper room, on entering which the latter closed the door, and James suddenly found himself in the presence of a person in complete armour. His natural inquiry was whether this was the person he had come to examine? "No," said Ruthven, (at the same time snatching a dagger from the girdle of the man in armour,) "you have been brought hither for another purpose; you killed my father, and are here to answer for his death." James, greatly alarmed, insisted that, being a minor at the time, he was entirely innocent of the execution of the late Earl, and used every argument and entreaty to avert the threatened danger. Ruthven's compassion was so far moved, as to undertake, on condition that the King should remain quiet, to endeavour to soften his brother. However, he soon returned, and informed James that there was no remedy, and that he must make up his mind to die; at the same time forcibly laying his hands upon the King, and endeavouring to bind his hands *with a garter*, —a remarkable expedient when we consider that a pistol or a dagger (if Ruthven had, indeed, any intention on the King's life,) would have been much

more effective. Besides, according to James's own account of the transaction, which he afterwards published, it appears that during Ruthven's temporary absence, the man in armour not only expressed his intention not to injure the King, but asserted with an oath that he would sooner die first. For what reason, therefore, this person was placed there, or why he did not assist James to escape, or why he did not interfere when he beheld his sovereign struggling in the gripe of Ruthven, appears not only unaccountable, but has occasionally induced a disbelief of the whole affair.

The King, according to his own narrative, managed during the struggle to drag his adversary towards a window which looked into the street, and perceiving the Earl of Mar below, called out to him lustily for assistance. The Earl, followed by a considerable number of persons, rushed up the staircase, and finding the door fastened within, burst it open.* Previously, however, to the arrival

* The Duke of Lennox, in his deposition, gives an amusing description of the stirring scene in which he bore a share. "As they wer standing [below the window] advyseing quhair to seik the King, incontinent, and in this mentyme, this deponar hard ane voce, and said to the Erle of Mar, 'This is the Kingis voce that cryis; be quhair he will!' And sua they all lukand up to the ludgeing; they saw his Majestie lukand furth at the window wantand his hat, his face being reid [red], and ane hand gripand his cheik and mouth; and the King cryit, 'I am murtherit! Teassoun! My Lord of Mar, help! help!' And incontinent, this deponar, the Erle of Mar, and their cumpany, ran up the stair to the Galry chalmer, quhair

of the Earl on the spot, John Ramsey,* a page, happening to come up a back staircase, through which the assassins meant to have escaped, discovered the King struggling with Ruthven. James instantly called to him to strike his antagonist, desiring him to thrust low, for he wore a coat of mail. His words were "Fy! strik him laich, becaus he hes ane pyne-dowlit upon him."† Ramsey instantly obeyed, forcing his dagger into Ruthven's stomach two or three times. According to Spotswood, the man whom the King found in the apartment endeavoured to make his escape, but was run through the body by Sir Thomas Erskine, and killed on the spot. It seems, however, by every other account of the affair, that this mysterious individual took advantage of the commotion and retired unnoticed from the apartment.

his Majestie wes, to have relevit him; and as they passed up, they fand the dure of the chalmer fast; and seing ane ledder standing besyd, they raschit at the dure with the ledder, and the stoippis of the ledder brak: And syne they send for hammeris; and nochtwithstanding lang forceing with hammeris, they gat nocht entrie at the said chalmer, quhill eftir the Erle of Gowrie, and his brother wes baith slane." Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, v. ii. p. 178.

* For this service Ramsey was created Viscount Hadington, and, having accompanied the King to England, in 1620 was raised to be Baron of Kingston and Earl of Holderness. The elevation was attended by a particular proviso, that on the 5th August, the day on which he had delivered his sovereign, he and his heirs should for ever carry the sword of state before the King, in commemoration of the service which he had performed.

† Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. ii. p. 158.

Soon after this, the Earl of Gowrie, who really seems to have been completely ignorant of what was going forward, rushed into the apartment in which James had been placed by Sir Thomas Erskine, accompanied by three or four of his retainers, and having a sword in each hand. He made a most gallant attack, or rather defence, and was on the point of routing his opponents, when one of them cried out that the King was killed. Gowrie, in natural astonishment, dropped the points of his swords to the ground, when Ramsey, the page, seized the opportunity and ran his rapier through the Earl's heart.*

Thomas Cranstoun, George Craigengelt, and John Baron, retainers of Gowries, were executed for having connived at this conspiracy: they all declared with their dying breath that they were ignorant of any treasonable intent, and that they had only drawn their swords in defence of the Earl their master. "I have been taken," said Cranstoun, "for a traitor, but I thank God I am not one. I was stabbed through with a sword at this last tumult, and now I am to be hanged."† Andrew Henderson, another follower of that unfortunate nobleman, deposed, on the other hand, that he was the person in armour already mentioned; though it seems that the King had been previously well acquainted with Henderson's person; and yet,

* Spotswood, p. 457; Sanderson, p. 226.

† Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. ii. p. 155.

notwithstanding a protracted conversation, had hitherto entertained not the least suspicion of his identity. The evidence indeed of Henderson is so full of contradictions, as to render the fact of his being the person extremely improbable.* It appears far more likely that he volunteered the testimony which he gave in order to save his life; if indeed he had not been tampered with by the court, who were naturally anxious to corroborate the King's statement, on which hitherto had alone rested the suspicions of Gowrie's guilt. Besides, James describes the man in armour as "a black grim man," while Henderson is stated by his contemporaries to have been a person of "low stature, ruddy complexion, and brown bearded." In addition to these inconsistencies is the fact, that the King's published relation of what occurred is in singular opposition to the evidence of the witnesses.†

* See a very ingenious treatise, "The History of the Life and Death of John Earl of Gowrie, by the Reverend James Scott," p. 327, Edinburgh, 1818. This work, which is one of considerable labour and research, contains some curious references and extracts from unpublished MSS. the parochial records of Perth, as also a summary of the various tracts, and other printed works, which treat on the subject of the "Gowries' Conspiracy." The object of the reverend author is confessedly to exculpate his favourites, the Gowries; and if he has fallen short of effecting his purpose, he has at least adduced some very staggering facts, and opened an interesting and wider field for discussion. The reader is also referred to the detailed, and more popular, account of Robertson. Hist. of Scotland, Works, vol. ii. p. 205.

† See Life and Death of John Earl of Gowrie, p. 324. It is

The further we investigate this complicated affair, the greater difficulties we meet with at every step. On the one hand, it appears highly improbable that James should have entered into such a plot against his own subjects—that he should have allowed the earl and his brother to return from abroad, and have loaded them with favours, when all the time he fully intended their destruction,—that he should have been guilty of the solemn mockery of appointing an annual day of thanksgiving for a deliverance which was merely ideal;* and, what is perhaps the most weighty argument, that so notorious a coward should have voluntarily implicated himself in so perilous an adventure.

On the other hand, the arguments in favour of the Gowries' innocence are still more staggering. Besides the absence of a sufficient motive, it was

there affirmed, on the authority of an Edinburgh MS. that at the very time when Gowrie was killed, Henderson was seen walking on the Tay Bridge of Perth; and again, "That he was the man said to be in armour was known to be a falsehood, for he was seen that day coming from Scoon to Perth, on foot; and having heard that the King was in Gowrie's house, and the gate shut, walked on the bridge till all was over."

* A thanksgiving for the King's deliverance was continued on the 5th of August throughout his reign. Bishop Andrews is said to have fallen on his knees to James, beseeching his Majesty to enlighten him as to the reality of the treason, in order that he might be released from mocking the Almighty, should the story be a mere fiction. James, however, assured the bishop, on the faith of a Christian and the word of a King, that there was no deception in the case. Biog. Brit. vol. iv. p. 2455.

proved that the only weapon found on Alexander Ruthven after his death, was a sword rusted in its sheath and undrawn; and he was besides a mere boy at the time. The Earl and his brother were both slain on the spot, instead of being taken prisoners, which might easily have been effected. The King, without any apparent motive, had assembled an unusual force of armed men at the time, and as many as five hundred gentlemen are said to have composed his suite in the neighbourhood. The reality of the conspiracy was not only generally canvassed at the period, but appears to have been commonly disbelieved. The ministers of the Church in Edinburgh positively refused to return thanks for the King's delivery, and preferred encountering his utmost vengeance to implicating themselves in what they conscientiously believed to be an infamous and mountebank cheat. The Bishop of Ross alone had complaisance enough to address the people at the Market Cross at Edinburgh, but even he contented himself with a narrative relation of what was supposed to have taken place. For many years afterwards, Gowrie was spoken of in Perth and its neighbourhood as an innocent and injured person, and James's conduct invariably mentioned with abhorrence.

It has been asserted that a criminal intercourse had been carried on between the Queen and Alexander Ruthven, and that the King's jealous sensibility induced him to adopt this means of revenge:

this supposition, however, can be mentioned as little more than a surmise.

An attempt has been made to prove that the Earl of Gowrie was not only nearly allied, but, after James, was actually the next heir to the English crown; and, strange as it may appear, notwithstanding the proverbial industry and perseverance of the genealogists, this important doubt has never been cleared up. The supposition of Gowrie's affinity to the throne rests as follows: At the death of Elizabeth, the crown would naturally revert to the descendants of Henry the Seventh; Margaret Tudor, eldest daughter of that monarch, and grandmother of James the First, after the death of her husband, James the Fourth of Scotland, had married Henry Stuart, Lord Ruthven; who again married Lady Janet Stewart, daughter of the Earl of Athol. Lord Gowrie's mother was certainly granddaughter of Lord Ruthven, but whether descended from his first wife, the Queen Dowager, or from Lady Janet Stewart, remains yet to be proved: if from the former, after the failure of issue from James the First, the Earl was certainly the natural successor to the throne; if from the latter, though in some degree it allied him to the royal family, it placed his hopes of succession at a very considerable distance.

Ingenious as are the attempts to prove this relationship on the part of the Gowries, and some of the arguments are staggering, we must ever bear

in mind the important fact, that not a single contemporary historian has alluded to the subject; and we can hardly believe that had such claims really existed, we should have been left so entirely in the dark. There are innumerable instances which clearly demonstrate that both Elizabeth and James regarded Lady Arabella Stuart as the *subject* most nearly allied to the throne. "Quiet as that young creature looks," said Queen Elizabeth to the French ambassadress, "she may one day sit on this throne!" Now, if the Earl of Gowrie were really the grandson of Queen Margaret, the claims of Arabella Stuart as great-granddaughter, are thrown altogether into the back ground. Supposing, however, as a matter of argument, that Gowrie really stood in the position in which it has been attempted to place him, the fact, however satisfactorily proved, would throw but little additional light on the identity of the guilty party. The same inducement which might have led Gowrie to get rid of James, in order to his own succession, might have actuated James in getting rid of Gowrie; for James was undoubtedly as jealous of his successor, or of any person who might interfere with his rights, as was Elizabeth herself; a fact sufficiently proved by his treatment of Arabella Stuart. It is improbable also, that the proximity of the Gowries to the blood royal should have been an inducement with James; for, after the death of the Earl and his brother, there remained two

younger brothers, William and Patrick, who naturally inherited the claims of their elder brother. James, whatever was the motive, certainly persecuted that gallant and unhappy family to the last: William died in exile, and Patrick remained a prisoner in the Tower of London till liberated at the accession of Charles the First. The boon of freedom would have been valueless without the means of subsistence, and Charles considerately settled a small pension on the victim of his father's gross injustice. During his incarceration, Patrick Ruthven had occupied his time and attention in literary and scientific pursuits. When the troubles of the Revolution deprived him of the royal bounty, the last of the Ruthvens appears to have wandered an impoverished scholar in the streets of London; if he had not actually to struggle with the horrors of starvation.

It is but fair on the part of James to record the following anecdote;—Mr. William Cowper, the minister of Perth, informed Archbishop Spotswood, that, visiting the Earl of Gowrie some days previous to the supposed conspiracy, he found him intent on a book entitled, "Conspiracies against Princes."* The Earl remarked that former plotters had invariably failed in their object through mismanagement, and that entire secrecy was the only basis of success.

* De Conjurationibus adversus Principes.

To enable the Crown to confiscate the estates of the deceased Earl, it was necessary that there should be a legal inquiry into the proofs of his guilt. This ceremony may be rather called a trial of the dead, for, in accordance with an ancient custom, the massacred remains of the brothers were deposited in court during the process of investigation. The Parliament decreed that their names, dignities, and memories, should be blotted from the books of the nobility; that their property should be at the disposal of the King; that they should be hung, drawn, and quartered, at the cross of Edinburgh; and that the several portions of their bodies should be affixed to the most public buildings of the principal towns in the kingdom. The sentence was fulfilled almost to the letter; their heads were placed on the Tolbooth at Edinburgh, and their legs and arms on the gates of Perth.

Such are the circumstances connected with the famous Gowrie conspiracy. It must be admitted that the generality of our historians have decided in favour of James; indeed, the curious evidence recently brought forward by Pitcairn in the Criminal Trials, is supposed by many to have set the question at rest. Whatever, therefore, is now adduced, has been intended rather to display the merits of a perplexing controversy, than as throwing any additional light on a subject which has been so often and so ably discussed.

## CHAPTER IV.

Death of Elizabeth.—Transfer of the Crown of England to James.—Sir Robert Carey's Mission to announce the Tidings to James.—Reception of the News by that Monarch.—The Blue Ring.—Joy of the Scots on James's Accession to the English Throne.—Sir Roger Aston.—Progress of James to his new Capital—his Reception in England—his Notions of the Royal Prerogative.—Tastes introduced by James into the English Court. — The King's Love of Buffoonery — his "Counterblast to Tobacco."—Curious Letter.—Sir John Harrington's Account of the Court Revels during the Visit of the Danish King.—James's Love of Wine.—Anecdote of the King of Denmark.—Intoxication of the two Kings.—James's Excesses and his maudlin Repentance—his Habit of Swearing.—Lord Herbert's Apology for him.

The crown of England, at the death of Elizabeth, was transferred tranquilly and undisputedly to the brows of her successor. The deceased Queen, as is well known, partly, perhaps, from superstitious, and partly from political motives, had ever shrunk from naming the person whom she wished to succeed her, and had invariably met any importunities on the subject with the utmost indignation. In the last moments of her glorious career, while in extreme sickness of mind and body, the Lord Admiral, the Lord Keeper, and Secretary Cecil, for the last

time intruded upon her the hateful subject. The Queen, says Camden,* replied faintly, *that as she held a regal sceptre, so she desired no other than a royal successor.* When Cecil requested her to explain herself more fully; *I would,* she added, *have a king to succeed me, and who should that be but my nearest kinsman, the King of Scots?* Such is Camden's account, from which our principal historians appear to have borrowed their relation of this important passage.† There is, however, another writer, Robert Carey, afterwards Earl of Monmouth, who was constantly in the Queen's sick chamber, who relates the story in a somewhat different manner. Elizabeth, he says distinctly, was *speechless* at the time; adding, that, when the name of the King of Scotland was mentioned to her, she put her hand to her head, by which "they all knew that he was the man she desired should reign after her."‡ The council, and especially Cecil, were naturally anxious, in order to the quiet establishment of James, that they should be enabled to add the authority of the Queen's express wishes to the claims of

* Camden, Hist. of Queen Elizabeth, in Kennett, vol. ii. p. 653.

† Rapin, vol. ii. p. 155; Echard, vol. i. p. 902; Hume, vol. v. p. 385. Sanderson, who may almost be considered as a contemporary, gives a similar account (p. 261). This historian, however, notwithstanding his constant professions to have been behind the scenes, is well known to have been a mere borrower from other writers. See Oldys' Life of Raleigh, p. 163; and Kennett's History, vol. i. p. 662.

‡ Memoirs of Carey, Earl of Monmouth, p. 140.

hereditary descent; we can therefore readily imagine that any circumstance, however slight, would have been brought to bear on the occasion. It is just as probable that the movement of the Queen's hand should have been caused by a pain in her head, as that it should have been intended to denote the disposition of a kingdom.

No sooner was the breath departed from the Queen's body, than Sir Robert Carey,* who had been anxiously hovering about the death-bed of his kinswoman and benefactress, set off, with the lamentations of her women still ringing in his ears, to announce the important tidings to James: an act quite as indelicate as it was unauthorized. It appears, by Carey's own statement, that he must have ridden the distance between London and Edinburgh (about 400 miles) within the space of sixty hours, notwithstanding he received a dangerous fall from his horse, which retarded him on the road.†

* Fourth son of Henry first Lord Hunsdon, created by James I, 5th February 1625, Baron Carey and Earl of Monmouth. Horace Walpole has given him a place among the Noble Authors, observing, that "he was a near relation of Queen Elizabeth, but appears to have owed his preferment to the despatch he used in informing her successor of her death." He was indeed a true courtier. His Memoirs were first published by John Earl of Cork and Orrery, in 1759. He died at an advanced age in 1639. Walpole's Works; Burke's Extinct Peerage; Memoirs of Himself.

† Memoirs of Carey, Earl of Monmouth, p. 149. More than one instance might be mentioned of our ancestors having performed considerable distances in an incredibly short space of

James received the news of his accession with proper decency. Rapin states, on the indifferent authority of a French historian,* that he could not forbear lifting up his eyes to Heaven, as if to thank God for the boon which he had so long and anxiously expected. Carey, on his part, mentions nothing of this discomposure, slight as it was, in the manner of James. The King had just gone to bed when he arrived, and therefore received him in his bed-chamber. "I kneeled by him," adds this true courtier, "and saluted him by his title of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland. He gave me his hand to kiss, and bade me welcome. After he had long discoursed of the manner of the Queen's sickness, and of her death, he asked me what letters I had from the council? I told him none; and acquainted him how narrowly I escaped from them. And yet I had brought him a blue ring from a fair lady, that I hoped would give him assurance of the truth that I had reported. He took it and looked upon it, and said, 'It is enough; I know by this you are a true messenger.'"†

Birch has thrown a partial light over the history

time. On the 17th of July 1620, one Bernard Calvert of Andover, rode from St. George's Church Southwark to Dover, crossed the channel in an open boat to Calais, and from thence returned to St. George's Church in the same day; having performed the whole distance between three o'clock in the morning and eight in the afternoon. Medulla Hist. Anglicanæ, p. 185; Stow, 1032.

* Vol. ii. p. 158; from Du Chesne, Hist. d'Anglet.

† Memoirs of Carey, Earl of Monmouth, p. 151.

of the blue ring. "Lady Elizabeth Spelman," he says, "used to relate, that the Lady Scroope, who waited upon the Queen in her last moments, as soon as her Majesty expired, threw this ring out of the window to her brother, which appears to have been a token agreed upon between her and the King of Scots as the notice of the Queen's death."* A window was recently pointed out on Richmond Green, the site of the old palace, from which legend reported that the ring had been thrown.

Nothing could exceed the joy of the Scots, when the tardy accession of James to the throne of England was at length announced. The protracted reign of Elizabeth had been universally regarded as a national calamity; and we are even assured that a belief existed among the lower classes in Scotland, that the Queen of England had been long since dead, and that the English had been in the habit of substituting a series of old women in her room. Weldon says that the wisest heads in Scotland could scarcely be induced to believe, that as long as there was an "old wife" in England, their King would be called on to succeed.

The person selected by James to communicate his intended proceedings to the English council was Sir Roger Aston,† who is reported to have

* View of the Negotiations between England, France, and Brussels.

† He was natural son of John Aston, second son of Richard Aston, of Aston in Cheshire; and though born an Englishman,

served the King for many years as his barber, though he eventually rose to be a gentleman of the bed-chamber and master of the wardrobe. He seems to have been a plain and straightforward man, and quite as overjoyed as his master at entering upon the splendours and luxuries for which they had so long waited. This rough Scotchman being admitted into the council-chamber, the lords received him with much courtesy, and asked him how he did? "Even, my lords," he replied, "like a poor man wandering about forty years in a wilderness and barren soil, and now arrived at the land of promise."* Such was the general feeling of the Scottish nation. Shortly before James's departure from Edinburgh, happening to attend divine worship at St. Giles's church, the preacher thought proper to remind him of God's mercies, exhorting him to be duly grateful for the favour which had been shown him, *and not to forget his countrymen!* The King actually rose from his seat, and, "promising to have a care of them and their good, gave them a most loving and kind farewell."†

The progress of James, from his old to his new capital, was everywhere attended with a magnificence, to which he had scarcely been accustomed

had been brought up in Scotland. He had occasionally been employed to carry letters between James and Elizabeth. Sir Roger died 23rd May, 1612, having accumulated a large fortune at Court. Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. col. 173.

* Weldon, p. 6. † Spotswood, p. 476.

in his own impoverished realm.* The houses of the nobility and principal gentry were prepared for his reception on the way, and he was everywhere entertained with the most splendid hospitality. "These people," said a blunt Scotchman, "would spoil a good King." With the exception of a fall from his horse in hunting, and a remarkable circumstance of his having hung a foot-pad without even the form of a trial, no event of any importance occurred during his progress through his new dominions.

The grief for a departed monarch is commonly of short duration. The joy of the people was not less ardent, nor their acclamations less loud, when they beheld the foreign successor, (of whose character they knew about as little as they did of his folios,) than when they had crowded round the chariot of the great princess, over whose remains the grave was but just closing. James, however, did his utmost to damp the ardour of his new subjects. He had always disliked a crowd, and on the pretence that such a concourse of admirers would produce a scarcity of provisions, he issued an order for their dispersion. The higher ranks were not better pleased with the manner in which he prostituted all titles of honour. Besides his promiscuous additions to the peerage, it is reported that within six weeks after he left Scotland he confer-

* See Nichols's Progresses and Processions of King James I, vol. i. p. 53.

red knighthood on no less than two hundred and thirty-seven persons. A pasquinade was affixed to St. Paul's, purporting to be a method to enable weak memories to retain the names of the new nobility.*

James's notions of the royal prerogative appear to have increased with his addition of territory. At Newark, as has been already related, he took upon himself to hang a highwayman without the least pretence of a trial — a sort of Orientalism which was afterwards canvassed in such a manner, as to prevent the probability of its recurrence.†

In James's progress to London celerity seems to have been considered as of the least importance. The greater part of the days were passed in hunting, and the nights in feasting. He arrived in London on the seventh of May, 1603, having consumed five weeks in his journey.‡

The tastes and habits which were introduced by James into the English court, differed widely from

* Wilson, in Kennett, vol. i. p. 665.

† James entertained to the last the most dangerous notions as to the extent to which the royal prerogative should be carried: this is the more singular since his tutor, the illustrious Buchanan, endeavoured by every means in his power to instil very different ideas into the mind of his sovereign pupil, and, indeed, published his work, *De jure Regni apud Scotos*, with this object.

‡ The coronation of James took place on the 25th of July, 1603; the ceremony, owing to the plague which raged fearfully in the metropolis, being performed hurriedly, and without ostentation, by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

the stately pastimes and chivalrous amusements of the past reign. There was no want of what may perhaps be called magnificence; indeed, the expense of supporting the royal pleasures occasionally amounted to extravagance,—but at this period of his reign there was not only little elegance, but the taste of the court, and especially of the King himself, appears constantly tinctured with grossness and vulgarity. The nice perceptions of Prince Charles and Buckingham eventually introduced those intellectual refinements which, in the succeeding reign, distinguished the court of England as the politest in Europe.

The Scotch, who accompanied James to his new dominions, are said to have brought with them their dirt as well as their poverty. The Countess of Dorset informs us, that when she paid her visit of congratulation to the royal family at Theobald's, she was surprised at the great change which had taken place, in regard to the want of cleanliness, since the preceding reign. Soon after quitting the palace she found herself infested with those insects, the name of which it is scarcely considered delicate to mention.

It is to be regretted, that Sully, in his account of his embassy to England, enters so little into the fashions and manners of the court. He mentions, however, an occasion of his dining with James at Greenwich, when he was "not a little surprised to behold that the King was always served on the

knee. A surtout," he adds, "in the form of a pyramid, was placed in the middle of the table, which contained most costly vessels, and was even enriched with diamonds." Let us return, however, to the private tastes and pursuits of James.

There were a set of persons about the King, who were ever ready to pander to his gross ideas of amusement. Sir Anthony Weldon gives us the following account of the popular entertainments at court, about the period that Buckingham first came into favour. "Then," he says, "the King began to eat abroad, who formerly used to eat in his bed-chamber, and after supper would come forth to see pastimes and fooleries, in which Sir Edward Zouch,* Sir George Goring,† and Sir John Finett,‡ were the chief and master-fools: and surely this fooling got them more than any other's wisdom, far above them in desert. Zouch's part was to

* Probably the same Sir Edward Zouch who was Knight Marshal of England in the reign of James I, and consequently related to Edward Lord Zouch of Haringworth. The identity, however, is equally uncertain and immaterial.

† Sir George Goring, afterwards so distinguished for the services which he rendered to his sovereign during the civil troubles, was created, 14th April 1632, by Charles I, Baron Goring of Hurst Pierpont, and 8th November 1644, Earl of Norwich. He married Mary, daughter of Edward Lord Bergavenny, and died in 1662.

‡ Sir John Finett, master of the ceremonies to James I. and Charles I, and author of Finetti Philoxenis, containing some curious anecdotes and treatises on points of precedence and court etiquette. It was first published in London, 1656.

sing bawdy songs and tell bawdy tales: Finett to compose these songs. Then were a set of fiddlers brought up on purpose for this fooling; and Goring was master of the game for fooleries, sometimes presenting David Droman and Archie Armstrong on the back of the other fools, to tilt one at the other, till they fell together by the ears; sometimes the property was presented by them in antic dances. But Sir Jo. Millisent, who was never known before, was commended for notable fooling; and so was indeed the best extemporary fool of them all."

Sir George Goring, who afterwards rose to military celebrity in the civil troubles, appears to have well merited his title of "Master-fool." In a letter to the Earl of Arundel, dated 22d November, 1618, another of his follies is described. The occasion was a kind of *al fresco* party, in commemoration of the Prince's birth-day, when the principal courtiers had agreed to meet together, each contributing his own share of the repast, some striving to be substantial, some curious, and some extravagant. Sir George Goring's invention bore away the bell; and that was four brawny pigs, piping hot, bitted and harnessed, with ropes of sausages, all tied to a monstrous pudding."*

The King's love of buffoonery never deserted him, even when age and vexation were pressing hard upon him. But what he most delighted in

* Lodge's Illustrations of English Hist. vol. iii. p. 403.

was any burlesque, however caricatured, on the incidents of real life: the more ridiculous they were, says Arthur Wilson, the more they pleased him. A story is told, by this writer, of a profane expedient, adopted by Buckingham and his mother, to divert the royal melancholy at the most dismal period of his reign. A young lady was introduced, carrying in her arms a pig, in the dress of an infant, which the Countess presented to the King in a rich mantle: one Turpin, dressed like a bishop, in a satin gown, lawn sleeves, and the usual pontifical ornaments, commenced reading the ceremony of baptism from the book of Common Prayer, while an assistant stood ready with a silver ewer filled with water. The King, to whom the joke was intended to convey a pleasing surprise, hearing the pig suddenly squeak, looked more closely about him, and recognised the face of Buckingham, who was intended to personify the god-father. "Away, for shame," he cried: "what blasphemy is this?"—extremely indignant at the trick which had been imposed upon him.*

We must not, however, attribute his displeasure, on this occasion, to any other cause than the accidental melancholy which happened to have mastered him at the time. It is extremely improbable that such artful politicians as Buckingham and his mother should have ventured on such "blas-

* Wilson, in Kennett, vol. ii. p. 760.

phemies," unless persuaded, by the success of former puerilities, that their impious buffoonery would not be unpleasing to the weak-minded monarch. It may be proper, too, to mention, that a pig was an animal of which James had a more than Judaical abhorrence;—he tells us, in his "Counterblast to Tobacco," that were he to invite the Devil to dinner, he would place three dishes before him;—first, *a pig;* secondly, a poll of ling and mustard; and thirdly, a pipe of tobacco to assist digestion.* His dislike to tobacco was only equalled by his horror of the pig; a fact well known by the fame of the celebrated tirade above alluded to. There was an order issued during his reign, prohibiting the members of the University of Cambridge from smoking tobacco in St. Mary's church. Considering how frequently references are made by contemporary writers to the King's dislike to pigs, we are surprised to find his favourite Buckingham more than once addressing him, in his letters, by the familiar appellation of "Sow;" but the following curious letter, addressed by the Earl of Pembroke to Sir Edward Zouch, is even more startling.

"Honest Ned,

"I know you love your master dearly, and his pleasures, which makes me put you in trust with this business, myself not being able to stay in the town so late.

* Witty Apophthegms of James I.

"I pray you, therefore, as soon as it grows dark fail not to send the close cart to Basingborn for the speckled sow ye saw the King take such liking unto this day; and let her be brought privately to the man of the wardrobe, by the same token, that I chid him for letting the other beasts go carelessly into the garden while it was day, and he will presently receive her into his charge. Some may think this a jest, but I assure you it is a matter of trust and confidence, and so assuring myself of your secret and careful performance of it, I rest your affectionate friend,

"PEMBROKE."*

On other occasions, we find the King familiarly addressed by his minions as "Your Sowship."

The following lively letter of the period contains a more graphic picture, and will afford a more accurate notion of the manners of the court, than could be effected by a more elaborate description. That the wit is of a lighter kind, and the language less ponderous, than is generally the case with the familiar epistles of the period, must be taken as an additional reason for its insertion: it is addressed by Sir John Harrington† to Mr. Secretary Barlow, and dated London, 1606:

* Dalrymple's Memorials, p. 71.

† The Epigrammatist, and translator of the Orlando Furioso. He was made a Knight of the Bath by King James, and died in 1612, aged 51.

"My good Friend,

"In compliance with your asking, now shall you accept my poor account of rich doings. I came here a day or two before the Danish King* came, and from the day he had come to the present hour, I have been well nigh overwhelmed with carousal and sports of all kinds. The sports began each day in such manner and such sort, as well nigh persuaded me of Mahomet's paradise. We had women, and indeed wine too, of such plenty, as would have astonished each beholder. Our feasts were magnificent, and the two royal guests did most lovingly embrace each other at the table. I think the Dane hath strangely wrought on our good English Nobles; for those whom I could never get to taste good English liquor, now follow the fashion, and wallow in beastly delights. The ladies abandon their sobriety, and are seen to roll about in intoxication. In good sooth, the Parliament did kindly to provide his Majesty so seasonably with money; for there has been no lack of good living, shows, sights, and banqueting from morn to eve.

"One day a great feast was held; and after din-

* Christian, King of Denmark, brother to the Queen, arrived in England 17th July, 1606, and departed on the 14th of August following. *Camden.*—His curiosity led him occasionally to wander about the streets of London in disguise, but it did not prevent him from showing a repugnance to visit the Tower of London, when he happened to be informed that it was a prison. *Sanderson.*

ner the representation of Solomon's temple, and the coming of the Queen of Sheba was made, or (as I may better say) was meant to have been made, before their majesties, by device of the Earl of Salisbury* and others. But, alas! as all earthly things do fail to poor mortals in earthly enjoyments, so did prove our presentment thereof. The lady who did play the Queen's part did carry most precious gifts to both their Majesties; but, forgetting the steps arising to the canopy, overset her caskets into his Danish Majesty's lap, and fell at his feet, though I rather think it was in his face. Much was the hurry and confusion; cloths and napkins were at hand, to make all clean. His Majesty then got up, and would dance with the Queen of Sheba; but he fell down and humbled himself before her, and was carried to an inner chamber, and laid on a bed of state, which was not a little defiled with the presents of the Queen, which had been bestowed on his garments; such as wine, cream, jelly, beverage, cakes, spices, and other good matters. The entertainment and show went forward, and most of the presenters went backward or fell down; wine did so occupy their upper chambers.

"Now did appear in rich dress, Hope, Faith, and Charity; Hope did assay to speak, but wine rendered her endeavours so feeble that she with-

* Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, the celebrated Secretary.

drew, and hoped the King would excuse her levity. Faith was then all alone; for I am certain she was not joined to good works, and left the court in a staggering: Charity came to the King's feet, and seemed to cover the multitude of sins her sisters had committed; in some sort she made obeisance, and brought gifts, but said she would return home again, as there was no gift which Heaven had not already given his Majesty. She then returned to Faith and Hope, who were both sick in the lower hall.*

"Next came Victory, in bright armour, and presented a rich sword to the King, who did not accept it, but put it by with his hand; and by a strange medley of versification did endeavour to make suit to the King. But Victory did not triumph long; for after much lamentable utterance, she was led away by a silly captive, and laid to sleep in the outer steps of the ante-chamber.

"Now did Peace make entry, and strive to get foremost to the King; but I grieve to tell how great wrath she did discover unto those of her attendants; and much contrary to her semblance, made rudely war with her olive-branch, and laid on the pates of those who did oppose her coming.

"I have much marvelled at those strange pageantries; and they do bring to my remembrance what passed of this sort in our Queen's days, of

* The whole account, and especially the disgraceful state of the Cardinal Virtues, is no doubt somewhat overcharged.

which I was sometime an humble spectator and assistant; but I never did see such lack of good order, discretion, and sobriety, as I now have done. I have passed much time in seeing the royal sports of hunting and hawking, where the manners were such as made me devise the beasts were pursuing the sober creation, and not man in quest of exercise and food. I will now, in good sooth, declare unto you, who will not blab, that the gunpowder fright is got out of all our heads, and we are going on hereabouts as if the devil was contriving every man to blow up himself, by wild riot, excess, and devastation of time and temperance. The great ladies do go well masked, and indeed it be the only show of their modesty to conceal their countenances: but alack! they meet with such countenance to uphold their strange doings, that I marvel not at aught that happens. The lord of the mansion* is overwhelmed in preparations at Theobalds, and doth marvellously please both Kings with good meat, good drink, and good speeches. I do often say (but not aloud) that the Danes have again conquered the Britons, for I see no man, or woman either, that can command herself. I wish I was at home:—*O rus, quando te aspiciam!* and I will before the Prince Vaudemont† cometh."‡

* The Earl of Salisbury.

† Francis Prince Vaudemont, son of the Duke of Lorrain. He arrived in England 23rd September, 1606, about six weeks after the departure of the King of Denmark.—*Camden's Annals.*

‡ Nugæ Antiquæ, vol. i. p. 348.

Wine was always palatable to James. It was, therefore, not unnatural that the visit of his jovial brother-in-law should have led to more than one scene of inebriety.* The Danish monarch, indeed, seems to have been somewhat famous for disordering his faculties with the juice of the grape. Howel tells us of an instance of his excess, which occurred when, some years afterwards, this author accompanied the Earl of Leicester on his embassy to Denmark. The Earl was invited to dinner by the Dane, who did the best in his power to make the ambassador drunk. They sat down to their meal at eleven o'clock, and continued drinking till the evening, during which period the King proposed thirty-five healths,—first the Emperor, then the King of England, and so on, till he had exhausted all the Kings and Queens in

* The arrival of the boisterous Dane in England, and the manner in which, with homely jocularity, he surprised his sister the Queen of England, are amusingly described in a letter of the period. "He landed here at Yarmouth, and then took post-horses here to London, where, dining at an ordinary inn, near Aldgate, he hired a hackney-coach, and presently addressed his course to the Queen's court, and entered the presence before any person had the least thought of him. I hear Cardel, the dancer, gave the first occasion of his discovering him, by saying that that gentleman was the likest the King of Denmark that ever he saw any in his life, which a Frenchman, one of his Majesty's servants, hearing, and viewing his countenance well, whom he had seen the last time of his being here, grew confident that it was he; and presently ran to carry the news thereof to the Queen, who sat then at dinner, privately, in her gallery at Somerset House. The Queen at first

Christendom. The consequence was that his Majesty was eventually carried off in his chair. The same considerate attention was offered by two of the guards to the ambassador, who, however, was fortunately able to reach his chamber without their assistance.*

Peyton mentions a remarkable debauch, which occurred during the visit of the King of Denmark at the English court, on which occasion the two Kings got intoxicated. James was in such a disgraceful state, that he was obliged to be carried to bed by his courtiers, a task which was performed with considerable difficulty. "The King of Denmark," he says, "was so disguised, as he would have lain with the Countess of Nottingham, making horns in derision at her husband, the high admiral of England."† This story is, to a cer-

scorned him for his labour, so vain it appeared, and thought it some fantastic *capricio* of a French brain. But the King, following close after, and begging silence with the beckoning of his hands as he entered, came behind her and embraced her, ere she was aware, and saluting her with a kiss, taught her the verity of that which before she believed to be a falsehood. Presently she took off the best jewel she wore about her, and gave it to the Frenchman for his tidings, despatched a post to his Majesty, who was then well onward on his progress, and then intended the care of his entertainment."—*Letter from Mr. Lorkin to Sir T. Puckering, Bart. Bishop Goodman's Memoirs, vol. ii.* p. 371.

* Howel's Letters, p. 249.

† Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, Knight of the Garter, created Earl of Nottingham in 1597. He enjoys the proud distinction of having commanded the English fleet against the

tain extent, corroborated by a letter, still extant, which was addressed by the Countess to the Danish ambassador, in which she inveighs with natural female indignation against the insult which had been offered to her. Whatever may have been the amount of the crime, there is internal evidence, in the letter itself, that no personal violence was offered.*

To return to the foibles of our own monarch. Even in his taste for wine, as in most of his other

Spanish Armada. He died 1624, and was buried in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, where there remains an interesting monument to his memory.

* "Sir,—I am sorry this occasion should have been offered me by the King your master, which makes me troublesome to to you for the present. It is reported to me by men of honour, the great wrong the King of Danes hath done me, when I was not by to answer for myself; for if I had been present, I would have let him know how much I scorn to receive that wrong at his hands. I need not to urge the particulars of it, for the King himself knows it best. I protest to you, Sir, I did think as honourably of the King, your master, as I did of my own Prince; but now I persuade myself there is as much baseness in him as can be in any man; for although he be a Prince by birth, it seems not to me that there harbours any princely thought in his breast; for either in prince or subject, it is the basest that can be to wrong any woman of honour. I deserve as little that name he gave me, as either the mother of himself, or of his children; and if ever I come to know what man hath informed your master so wrongfully of me, I shall do my best for putting him from doing the like to any other; but if it hath come by the tongue of any woman, I dare say she would be glad to have companions. So leaving to trouble you any further, I rest your friend, M. Nottingham.†

† Cabala, Suppl. p. 96.

habits, we may trace the effeminacy of his nature. His partiality was for "sweet rich wines," such as are commonly supposed to be preferred by the fairer sex. Coke informs us that he indulged "not in ordinary French and Spanish wines, but in strong Greek wines." Even when engaged in hunting, a sport which seldom requires adventitious excitement, he was attended as closely as possible by a special officer, who constantly supplied him with his favourite beverages. Coke's father, on one of these occasions, managed to obtain a draught of the royal wine, which, his son tells us, not only produced intoxication and spoiled his day's sport, but disordered him for three days afterwards.

Weldon gives his opinion that James was not habitually intemperate, but that as old age crept on, and Buckingham's jovial suppers became more alluring, he occasionally exceeded, and was sometimes overtaken; a transgression which he would *next day remember, and repent with tears.* After such indulgences there is generally another matutinal memento besides conscience. The maudlin monarch weeping over the recollections of the last night's debauch must have been an edifying sight to his courtiers. "His drinks," adds the same writer, "were of that kind for strength, as Frontignac, Canary, high-country wine, tent wine, and Scottish ale, that had he not had a very strong brain, he might have daily been overtaken, although he seldom drank at any one time above four spoonfuls,

many times not above one or two." James, says Sully in his memoirs, was in the habit of quitting the company after dinner and going to bed, where he usually spent part of the afternoon, and sometimes the whole.

Another of James's vices was the constant practice of having an oath in his mouth. Sir John Peyton assures us, that from the example set by the King, the fashion of swearing grew into great esteem; and even the King's apologist, Bishop Goodman, admits that he was "wonderfully passionate and much given to swearing." And yet the same man, who was daily offending against morality, and undermining it by his influence, in his Basilicon Doron, has the conscience thus to apostrophise his own son, who is well known to have regarded an oath with the utmost abhorrence:—"Beware," says James, "to offend your conscience with the use of swearing or lying, suppose but in jest; for oaths are but a use, and a sin clothed with no delight nor gain, and therefore the more inexcusable, even in the sight of men." Weldon says, that in his cooler moments, the King was in the habit of expressing his abhorrence at his own bad habit, trusting, he said, that as the oaths which he made use of were uttered in moments of passion, they would not be imputed to him as sins.

That his reputation for profane swearing was not confined to his own subjects, may be discovered by the following anecdote:—When the famous Lord

Herbert of Cherbury was Ambassador at Paris, the Prince de Condè paid him a visit. The conversation chanced to turn upon the character of James, who was then King of England. The learning, clemency, and other good qualities of the King were politely admitted by the Prince; who, however, mentioned the report which he had heard of his Majesty's habit of swearing. Lord Herbert answered, paradoxically, that it was a weakness which arose entirely from the natural gentleness of the King's disposition; an assertion which brought forth a remark from the Prince that curses and gentleness were incompatible. "On the contrary," replied Lord Herbert, "the King, my master, is too kind to punish men himself, and therefore leaves their chastisement in the hands of God." Lord Herbert, who had more to be proud of than the credit of a smart saying, appears to have valued himself highly on this ingenious apology for his sovereign. He informs us that it was afterwards much celebrated at the French court.

## CHAPTER V.

James's Promise to his Scotch Subjects.—English Antipathy to the King's Scotch Favourites.—James's Apology to the English Parliament for his Patronage of his Countrymen — his undeserved Reputation for Liberality. — Anecdotes. — The King's Taste for lavishing immense Sums on Court Masques. —Reduced State of his Finances—his Fondness for the Chase —his bad Horsemanship — his Love of the Cock-pit — his personal Vices.—Manœuvres of Lady Suffolk.—Letters between the King and the Duke of Buckingham. —Buckingham's Profligacy. —Hypocrisy of James — his Insincerity— his iniquitous Behaviour to Robert Carr.

James kept faithfully the promise which he had made to his Scotch subjects in his farewell attendance at St. Giles's Church. A temperate prejudice in favour of former friends would have been laudable; but the unqualified distinction which, in the early part of his reign, he made in favour of Scotch interests and Scotch connexions, was naturally productive of much comment and envious feeling among his English subjects. We may trace an evidence of the English antipathy towards the northern and penniless favourites of James in the answer of Guy Fawkes to a Scottish nobleman who assisted in interrogating him before the council. When asked by the latter for what purpose he had

collected so large a quantity of gunpowder, "To blow," he said, "the Scottish beggars back to their native mountains." It may be observed that James happily denominated Guy Fawkes the English Scœvola.* The following pasquinade, which was everywhere posted at the time, has reference to the King's national prejudices :—

They beg our lands, our goods, our lives,
They switch our nobles, and lie with their wives;
They pinch our gentry, and send for our benchers,
They stab our serjeants, and pistol our fencers.

According to another writer of the period,—

Scots from the northern frozen banks of Tay,
With packs and plods came whigging all away;
Thick as the locusts which in Egypt swarm'd,
With pride and hungry hopes completely arm'd;
With native truth, diseases, and no money,
Plundered our Canaan of the milk and honey;
Here they grew quickly lords and gentlemen,
And all their race are true-born Englishmen.

So great was the disgust which this principle of favouritism had produced, that James thought it necessary to make the following characteristic apology to the English Parliament. "Had I," he proceeds, "been oversparing to them, they might have thought Joseph had forgotten his brethren, or that the King had been drunk with his new kingdom. If I did respect the English when I came first,

* Lingard, vol. ix. p. 56.

what might the Scotch have justly said if I had not in some measure dealt bountifully with them that so long had served me, so far adventured themselves with me, and been so faithful to me? Such particular persons of the Scottish nation as might claim any extraordinary merit at my hands, I have already reasonably rewarded; and I can assure you that there is none left for whom I mean extraordinary to strain myself further."* James's assurance was worth little. As Harris justly observes, it was but a short time afterwards that he took Robert Carr into favour, and heaped on him such immense treasures.

The credit, indeed, which James has generally acquired for profuse liberality, taking the word in its more generous sense, appears, on a very superficial investigation, to be totally undeserved. There certainly are numerous instances of his having squandered large sums on undeserving favourites,†

* King James's Works, p. 515.

† Osborne says, "the setting up of these golden calves cost England more than Queen Elizabeth spent in all her wars;" and Dr. Lingard, in alluding to the profuse generosity of James, has the following note:—"At the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert with Lady Susan Vere, he made the bridegroom a present of lands to the yearly value, as some say, of 500*l.* as others, 1200*l.* At the marriage of Ramsey, Viscount Haddington, with Lady Elizabeth Ratcliff, he paid Ramsey's debts, amounting to 10,000*l.* though he had already given him 1000*l.* per annum in land (*Winwood*, ii. p. 217), and sent to the bride a gold cup, in which was a patent containing a grant of lands of 600*l.* a-year. *Lodge*, iii. pp. 254, 336; *Bodarie*, iii. p. 129.—From the

but there is perhaps not a single instance on record of his having condescended to relieve misery or reward merit. The following anecdote, as it is commonly related, would at first sight place his character for generosity in an advantageous light; but we have only to call to mind his well-known partiality for masculine beauty,—the fact that Rich, the present object of his munificence, was eminently handsome, and indeed that it was only the coldness with which he met the King's advances to familiarity that prevented him from becoming the chief favourite,—and James's merit for liberality falls to the ground. The story purports, that James, on a certain day being in the gallery at Whitehall, attended only by Henry Rich, afterwards Earl of Holland, and Maxwell, a gentleman of the bedchamber, some servants happened to pass through, bearing a large sum of money (3000*l.*), which they were conveying to the privy purse. James, observing the two gentlemen whispering with one another, and ascertaining from Maxwell that the subject of their conversation was an incidental wish which had been expressed by Rich, that he could appropriate the gold to his own use, he immediately ordered it to be conveyed to the latter's lodgings; remarking, that it afforded him more pleasure in bestow-

abstract of his revenue I find that his presents at different times in money to Lord Dunbar amounted to 15,262*l.*; to the Earl of Mar, to 15,500*l.*; to Viscount Haddington, to 31,000*l.*"—*Lingard*, vol. ix. p. 91.

ing the money than Rich could receive in accepting it.

James's want of knowledge of the actual value of money may, however, be taken as some apology for the sums which he so unworthily lavished. There is an instance of his presenting the Earl of Somerset at one time with an order for twenty thousand pounds, an immense sum at that period. The Lord Treasurer, desirous of making the King aware of the enormous amount which he was squandering on his favourite, invited James to an entertainment, at which four sums, of five thousand pounds each, were purposely placed on as many tables, in an apartment through which James was to pass. The King, who had never before seen so much money at one time, inquired the reason of the display. Being informed that these heaps were the amount of the sum which he had ordered to be paid to Somerset; — "Zounds, man," he cried, "five thousand is enough to serve his turn," which was all that the favourite at that time received.*

These munificent, though ill-bestowed, donations, added to the vast sums which were lavished on the entertainments of the court, had at one time drained the royal treasury to its lowest ebb. By a letter among the Talbot Papers, it is proved that

* Coke's Detection, vol. i. p. 55. Lloyd says that the King only awarded five hundred pounds to Somerset; but this, as the sum is given numerically, appears to be an error of the press. —*State Worthies*, vol. ii. p. 19.

one masque alone cost the exchequer three thousand pounds.* This taste for lavishing immense sums on magnificent spectacles and social diversions was not merely confined to the court. To provide for a masque at Lord Haddington's marriage, twelve of the principal courtiers subscribed three hundred pounds apiece. The King, however, was the principal sufferer; and so reduced were his finances about the fourth year of his reign, and so clamorous were the officers of his household for the payment of their salaries, that they actually stopped the coach of the Lord Treasurer, and prevented his proceeding further, till he had given a solemn promise that their demands should be satisfied.† At Brussels James was caricatured in a hose doublet, with empty pockets hanging out, and an empty purse in his hand.

The King's personal expenses and individual pleasures were but, in a small degree, the cause of his pecuniary embarrassments. His principal source of enjoyment was in the chase, from which he ever derived the keenest gratification. It was a common expression of our ancestors, when they took leave of their friends, "God's peace be with you, as King James said to his hounds." Scaliger observed of him, "The King of England is merciful except in hunting, where he appears cruel. When he finds himself unable to take the beast, he frets

* Lodge's Illustrations of English History, vol. iii. p. 250.

† Birch's Life of Prince Henry.

and storms, and cries, *God is angry with me, but I will have him for all that!* When he catches him, he thrusts his whole arm into the belly and entrails of the creature up to the shoulder." His favourite pastime, on one occasion, very nearly cost him his life: Sir Symonds D'Ewes tells us, that he was thrown headlong into a pond, and very narrowly escaped drowning. Nor is this the only instance of his indifferent horsemanship nearly proving fatal to him. Mr. Joseph Meade writes to Sir Martin Stuteville, 11th January, 1622, "The same day his Majesty rode by coach to Theobald's to dinner, not intending, as the speech is, to return till towards Easter. After dinner, riding on horseback abroad, his horse stumbled and cast his Majesty into the New River, where the ice brake; he fell in so that nothing but his boots were seen. Sir Richard Young was next, who alighted, went into the water, and lifted him out. There came much water out of his mouth and body. His Majesty rid back to Theobald's, went into a warm bed, and, as we hear, is well, which God continue."*

In addition to his ruling taste for hunting, and his addiction to the pleasures of the table, the cock-pit, at least twice a week, was frequented by the frivolous monarch, and indeed constituted one of his principal sources of amusement. It is even affirmed that the salary of the master of the cocks, amounting to two hundred pounds per annum,

* Ellis, Orig. Letters, vol. iii. p. 117.

exceeded the united allowances of two secretaries of State.

His personal vices, his excessive indolence, and love of pleasure, interfering, as they were allowed to do on all occasions, with the calls of business and the most important necessities of state, excited equally the indignation of his ministers and the offensive strictures of his people. It was in vain that the former even fell on their knees to him, and implored him to show more care for his subjects' interests and his own. He replied coldly, that the state of his health required frequent relaxations; adding, that he would far sooner return to Scotland, than consent to be immured in his closet or chained to the council-table.*

Neither did the stage overlook his notorious vices and foibles, where they were introduced with unbecoming familiarity. Sometimes he was represented as indecently intoxicated; at others as cursing and swearing at his hawks and hounds, and striking his servants in his intemperate wrath.

James sufficiently admired those personal graces in others, in which he was himself so eminently deficient. His friendships were generally cultivated among the young and handsome, a peculiarity which gave rise to many scandalous insinuations and reports, on which we are unwilling to dwell. So well, however, were his failings understood by the courtiers, that perpetual intrigues and speculations ap-

* Lingard, vol. ix. p. 82.

pear to have been carried on, by opposing interests, for the purpose of undermining the existing favourite, by the introduction of a more engaging rival. Weldon asserts, that Lady Suffolk, a notorious intriguer of the period, carried this extraordinary traffic to such an extreme, that she was constantly on the look out for handsome young men, whose hair she daily curled, and whose breath she perfumed, in hopes that they would attract the royal attention. Henry Rich, afterwards Earl of Holland, is said by Osborne to have lost the opportunity, which his handsome face afforded him, of being prime favourite, by turning aside and spitting after the King had saluted him.

In allusion to the King's peculiarities, which were tolerably notorious among his subjects, the following lines are said to have been left in his chamber:

Aula prophana, religione vana,
Spreta uxore, Ganymedis amore,
Lege sublata, prerogativa inflata,
Tolle libertatem, incende civitatem,
Ducas spadonem,
et
Superasti Neronem.*

Many of the original letters, which passed between James and the Duke of Buckingham, are preserved

* The Nonsuch Charles, his Character, p. 17. Harris informs us, that a "learned friend" of his supposed these lines to have been written by Peyton. The fact is questionable and unimportant.

among the Harleian MSS. and elsewhere, and abound with evidences of disagreeable familiarity, and sometimes with the grossest indecency. The equality on which they corresponded is well known. The King generally addresses Buckingham as "his dear child and gossip," and frequently subscribes himself as "your dear *dad* and gossip:" on one occasion, when he sends his favourite some partridges, he concludes, "your dear dad and purveyor," while Buckingham, on his part, generally addresses the King as "dear dad and gossip," and terminates with "your Majesty's most humble slave and dog, Steny." In one of his letters, the King tells Buckingham that he "wears his picture in a blue ribbon, under his waistcoat, next his heart," and in another, he assures his "only dear and sweet child" how anxious he is that he should "hasten to him at Birely that night, that his white teeth may shine upon him." In a letter, published by Dalrymple, in his Memorials of the reign of James I, Buckingham addresses the King with the following strange parade of familiar titles: "My purveyor, my good fellow, my physician, my maker, my friend, my father, my all; I heartily and humbly thank you for all you do and all I have."

At other times, we find the King assisting Buckingham in his profligate amours: "To please this favourite," says Sir John Peyton, "King James gave way for the Duke to entice others to his will. Two examples I will recite. First, the

King entertained Sir John Crofts and his daughter, a beautiful lass, at Newmarket, to sit at the table with the King. This he did then to procure Buckingham the easier to vitiate her. Secondly, Mrs. Dorothy Gawdy, being a rare creature, King James carried Buckingham to Culford to have his will on that beauty: but Sir Nicholas Bacon's sons conveyed her out of a window into a private chamber, over the leads, and so disappointed the Duke of his wicked purpose. In which cleanly conveyance the author had a hand with the knight's sons."

After the relation of such scenes of profligacy, it is somewhat startling to find the King addressing to Buckingham a meditation on the Lord's Prayer. "For divers times," says James, in his preface, "before I meddled with it, I told you, and only you, of some of my conceptions on the Lord's Prayer, and you often solicited me to put pen to paper: next, as the person to whom we pray it, is our heavenly Father, so am I that offer it unto you, not only your politic, but also your œconomicke father, and that in a nearer degree than unto others. Thirdly, that you make good use of it; for since I daily take care to better your understanding, to enable you the more for my service in worldly affairs, reason would that God's part should not be left out, for *timor Domini est initium sapientiæ.* And lastly, I must with joy acknowledge, that you deserve this gift of me, in not only giving so good

example to the rest of the court, in frequent hearing of the word of God, but, in special, in so often receiving the sacrament, which is a notable demonstration of your charity in pardoning them that offend you, that being the thing I most labour to recommend to the world in this meditation of mine: and how godly and virtuous all my advices have ever been unto you, I hope you will faithfully witness unto the world."*

More hypocritical trash than this, or at any rate, a more conflicting line of conduct, it would be difficult to imagine. Even if James were himself sincere in his professed reverence for religious duties, (and there is reason to believe, notwithstanding his evident inconsistencies, that such was the case,) what can be more incongruous than his introducing so sacred a subject to a gay and thoughtless courtier, whose complaisance, and pretended interest in his Majesty's pursuits, could surely only have originated in a desire to gratify the weak monarch, by the usual arts of adulation! There is one part of the King's preface which reminds us of the last days of Louis the Fourteenth, whose courtiers, when religion became a fashion at Versailles, were accustomed to take the sacrament two or three times in one day. It is possible that Buckingham's motive was not very dissimilar.

That James's friendships, which had their birth

* King James's Works, p. 573.

in mere outward accomplishments, should have been extremely brief in their existence, is scarcely to be wondered at; but to fickleness he added insincerity —an important ingredient in what he termed his *king-craft*. It was in his nature to hug a favourite at one moment and to ruin him at the next. At the time when he was apparently taking the most affectionate interest in Buckingham's welfare, there is reason to believe that, in his heart, he was projecting his destruction. Had James lived, the fall of that magnificent favourite would, in all probability, have been as rapid as his rise. His behaviour to Robert Carr was even more iniquitous. When that unfortunate and once splendid criminal was proceeding to his trial, and, for aught that was known to the contrary, to his death, the King expressed the most poignant grief at their parting. And yet he was not only secretly overjoyed at his favourite's disgrace, but had been making use of every means to procure his utter and irremediable ruin. Of the farewell parting between James, and the companion who had once been so dear to him, Weldon has given the following curious account:—"When the Earl kissed his hand, the King hung about his neck, slabbering his cheeks — saying, 'for God's sake, when shall I see thee again? On my soul I shall neither eat nor sleep until you come again.' The Earl told him on the Monday (this being on the Friday). 'For God's sake let me,' said the King:—'shall I, shall I?'—then lolled about his

neck. 'Then for God's sake give thy lady this kiss for me:' in the same manner at the stair's head, at the middle of the stairs, and the stair's foot. The Earl was not in his coach when the King used these very words (in the hearing of four servants, one of whom reported the story instantly to the author of this history) 'I shall never see his face more.'"

## CHAPTER VI.

James's Pedantry—his Love of Literature—his egregious Vanity —his "Doron Basilicon"—his Work on Dæmonology—his Belief in Witchcraft—his Translation of the Psalms—his Poetry. —Raillery of Henry the Fourth of France.—James's Wit and conversational Talent—his Aphorisms.—Letter from Sir John Harrington to Sir Amias Paulet, illustrative of the Character of James.

It has long been the fashion to decry James as a mere pretender to learning. "His pedantry," says Lord Bolingbroke, "was too much even for the age in which he lived;" and again he adds:—"He affected more learning than became a King, which he broached on every occasion in such a manner as would have misbecome a schoolmaster." Pope and Horace Walpole have joined in the outcry. "Quotations," (says the latter writer,) "puns, scripture, witticisms, superstition, oaths, vanity, prerogative, and pedantry, the ingredients of all his sacred majesty's performances, were the pure produce of his own capacity, and deserving all the incense offered to such immense erudition by the divines of his age, and the flatterers of his court." His Majesty's writings, however, though cramped and obscured by pedantry and false taste, are not altogether

without their merit. He was certainly possessed of considerable learning, if we may not add genius; and though not an elegant scholar, was at least an industrious one. His love of literature was sincere, and his efforts in its cause unwearying. "Were I not a King," he said, on visiting the Bodleian library, "I would wish to be an University man." To the University of Cambridge he was constantly sending for books of reference; and many of those days, which he professedly borrowed from the court, with the object of indulging in the sports of the field, were terminated in long hours of study or literary relaxation. If his assumptions of superiority in the field of letters were arrogant and ostentatious, we should remember that when the sovereign turns author, he has few critics, and numberless admirers. A Bishop flattered him by translating his works into Latin, and the court endeavoured to persuade him that he was a Solomon. James, however, had certainly no mean opinion of his own capacity. He told Sully, (perhaps the best judge in Europe of the merits of such an assertion,) that, for a long time previous to his accession to the throne of England, he had *secretly governed the whole of Queen Elizabeth's councils*, and that her ministers were merely tools in his hands. No wonder Sully has thought such a piece of vanity worth recording. In the first folio edition of his works,*

* King James's Works, Lond. 1616.

which no doubt underwent his own supervision, and indeed issued from the press of the royal printer, we find the following modest lines inserted beneath his portrait:—

> Crowns have their compass, length of days their date,
> Triumphs their tombs, felicities their fate;
> Of more than earth, can earth make none partaker,
> But knowledge makes the King most like his Maker.

James was in all probability the author of his own encomium. The work before us must have been revised with great care and attention, and it is not unamusing, in comparing it with one of his old Edinburgh treatises or proclamations, to observe what pains must have been taken to render it palatable to the English reader.

The Doron Basilicon, containing advice to his son respecting his moral and political conduct, is undoubtedly the best of King James's productions. It was first published in 1603, and went through three editions in that year. It has less of pedantry, and more of good sense, than are to be found in the writings of his contemporaries: moreover, it exhibits no slight knowledge of human nature, and no common capacity. We regret, however, that he did not himself act up to the principles which he endeavoured to inculcate. Had this work proceeded from the heart,—had it been softened by any pleasing traits of real affection for his son, it would probably have continued popular to the present day. Unfortunately, it was written to attract admiration,

and not to benefit a child whom he is known to have disliked.

His work on Dæmonology is less meritorious but more remarkable. James had at one time doubted the existence of those "detestable slaves of the Devil, the witches," as he himself styles them, though he afterwards adopted a different opinion, and dignified the subject with his pen.

The following extract will exhibit how little superior he was, to the idle superstitions of the day. Discussing the probability of innocent persons being accused and unjustly punished:—"There are two good helps, he writes, that may be used for their trial: the one is the finding of their mark, and trying the insensibleness thereof; the other is their fleeting on the water: for, as in a secret murder, if the dead carcass be at any time thereafter handled by the murderer, it will gush out blood, as if the blood were crying to Heaven for the revenge of the murderer: so it appears that God hath appointed (for a supernatural sign of the monstrous impiety of witches) that the water shall refuse to receive them in her bosom, that have shaken off them the sacred water of baptism, and wilfully refused the benefit thereof."

It is amusing, in these enlightened times, to find his Majesty inveighing against the "damnable opinions of one Scot, an Englishman, who," he informs us, "is not ashamed to deny in public print, that there be such a thing as witchcraft, *and so maintains*

*the old error of the Sadducees in denying of Spirits.*" Such were the arguments of our forefathers. Because a sensible individual disbelieved that an old woman had the power of diseasing a pig, or blighting an apple-tree, the evidence that he was a materialist was considered as damning and conclusive.*

The King's translation of the Psalms, in which he endeavoured to rival the far-famed Sternhold and Hopkins, was never finished, and is the least known of any of his compositions. The eleventh verse of the seventy-fourth Psalm,—"Why withdrawest thou thy hand?—why pluckest thou not thy right hand out of thy bosom, to consume the enemy?" is thus paraphrased by James, and may be taken as a specimen of the whole.

Why dost thou *thus* withdraw thy hand,
Even thy right hand restrain?
Out of thy bosom for our good,
Draw back the same again.

The translation of the same verse by Hopkins is still more solemnly ludicrous:—

Why dost thou draw thy hand aback,
And hide it in thy lap?
O pluck it out, and be not slack
To give thy foes a rap.

James again paraphrases the first verse of the same Psalm as follows:—

Oh why, our God, for evermore
Hast thou neglected us?
Why smokes thy wrath against the sheep
Of thine own pasture *thus?*

* King James's Works, p. 91.

Altogether, from the specimens of the King's muse, which have been handed down to us, it is very clear that, as a poet, he has not the slightest claim even to the doubtful credit of mediocrity. Of taste James was almost equally devoid. Walpole says, "it is well for the arts that King James had no disposition for them: he let them take their own course. Had he felt any inclination for them, he would probably have introduced as bad taste as he did into literature. A prince, who thought puns and quibbles the perfection of eloquence, would have been charmed with the monkeys of Hemskirk, and the drunken boors of Ostade." Probably Sully was not far wrong, when he spoke of James as the *wisest fool* in Christendom.

The charge, which has been so frequently brought against James, of egregious pedantry, is undoubtedly well deserved. Henry the fourth of France amused himself, in more than one instance, with this weakness of his brother monarch. When it was told him that James had succeeded to the throne of England, he observed, "*En verité, c'est un trop beau morceau pour un pedant.*" On another occasion, when James happened to be styled the English Solomon, in Henry's presence—"I hope," he observed, alluding to the supposed attachment of James's mother to David Rizzio, "I hope the name is not given to him because he is David the fiddler's son." Lord Sanquhar was present at the utterance of this biting sarcasm, and when that nobleman was

afterwards sentenced to be hanged, for having assassinated Turner the fencing-master, James refused him his pardon on the ground that he had neglected to resent the insult.* In allusion to James's character for pedantry, Pope introduces the following lines into the Dunciad:—

> Oh, cried the goddess, for some pedant reign!
> Some gentle James to bless the land again;
> To stick the doctor's chair into the throne,
> Give war to words, or war with words alone;
> Senates and Courts with Greek and Latin rule,
> And turn the Council to a grammar-school.

There are two points, his wit and conversational talent, on which James deserves some credit. There seems reason to believe that he was a very companionable personage. Weldon, who rarely says a word in his favour, informs as that "he was very witty, and had as many ready jests as any man living, at which he would not smile himself, but deliver them in a grave and serious manner."

* Divine Catast. This was Robert Crighton, Lord Sanquhar, a Scotch nobleman, whose eye was accidentally put out by Turner, while they were amusing themselves with fencing. Some time afterwards, he was asked by the French King how the accident had happened. Sanquhar detailed the circumstances, on which the King asked *whether the man still lived who had mutilated him?* The question had such an effect upon Lord Sanquhar, that he returned to England and hired two of his countrymen to shoot the fencing-master at his house in White Friars. Lord Sanquhar was tried in the Court of King's Bench, in 1612, and, being found guilty of murder, was hung opposite to the Gate of Westminster Hall, only two days after his being found guilty.—*Rapin*, vol. ii. p. 181, note.

When one of the Lumleys was, on one occasion, boasting of his ancestry rather beyond the limits of good breeding,—"Stop, man," said the King, "you need say no more: now I know that Adam's surname was Lumley."* The House of Commons he styled, with some humour, "the five hundred kings." It was one of James's sayings that "very wise men and very fools do little harm: it is the mediocrity of wisdom," he added, "that troubleth all the world."† Pope has re-echoed this sentiment in the well-known line:

A little learning is a dangerous thing.

"Men, in arguing," said James, "are often carried by the force of words farther asunder than their question was at first; like two ships, going out of the same haven, their landing is many times whole countries distant." In a letter, also, from Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, we have an instance of his conversational humour. "His Majesty, at Theobald's," says the writer, "discoursing publicly how he meant to govern, was heard to say he would govern according to the good of the common-*weal*, but not acording to the common *will*."

On another occasion, a certain courtier, on his death-bed, expressing the utmost remorse that he had formerly cheated the easy monarch; "Tell him to be of good courage," said James, "for I freely and lovingly forgive him;" and he added with some

* D'Israeli, Enquiry into the Character of James I. p. 85.
† Ibid.

humour—"I wonder much that all my officers do not go mad with the like thoughts; for certainly they have as great cause as this poor man hath."*

There is a curious little work in the British Museum, entitled, "Witty Observations of King James, gathered in his ordinary discourse," from which I have extracted the following specimens:—

"I love not one who will never be angry; for he that is without sorrow is without gladness, so he that is without anger is without love."

"Parents may forbid their children an unfit marriage, but they may not force their consent to a fit one."

"No man gains by war but he that hath not wherewithal to live in peace."

"It is likely that the people will imitate the King in good: but it is sure they will follow him in ill."

"I wonder not so much that women paint themselves, as that when they are painted, men can love them."

"Much money makes a country poor, for it sets a dear price upon everything."

"Cowardice is the mother of cruelty; it was only fear that made tyrants put so many to death, to secure themselves."

There is another work, entitled the "Witty Aphorisms of King James," which affords a still higher notion of his intellectual powers; but it has been more frequently selected for quotation. There

* Bishop Goodman's Memoirs, vol. i, p. 308.

have been many writers who have amused themselves with the King's wearisome folios and pedantic frivolities, who have been, in fact, greatly his inferiors in real learning and natural capacity.

"In that curious repository, the Nugæ Antiquæ," says Horace Walpole, "are three letters which exhibit more faithful portraits of Queen Elizabeth and James I. than are to be found in the most voluminous collections." From this agreeable miscellany I have selected the following letter, addressed by Sir John Harrington to Sir Amias Paulet. It introduces us at once behind the scenes, and affords an interesting sketch of the character of James, and no despicable view of his literary attainments and conversational powers.

"January, 1670.

"My Loving Cousin,

"It behoveth me now to write my journal, respecting the gracious command of my sovereign Prince, to come to his closet; which matter, as you so well and urgently desire to hear of, I shall, as suiteth my best ability, relate unto you, and is as followeth:—When I came to the presence-chamber and had gotten good place to see the lordly attendants, and bowed my knee to the Prince, I was ordered by special messenger, and that in secret sort, to wait awhile in an outward chamber, whence, in near an hour waiting, the same knave led me up a passage, and so to a small room, where was good order of paper, ink, and pens, put in a

board for the Prince's use. Soon upon this, the Prince his Highness did enter, and in much good humour asked 'if I was cousin to Lord Harrington, of Exton?' I humbly replied: 'His Majesty did some honour in inquiring my kin to one whom he had so late honoured and made a baron;' and moreover did add, 'we were both branches of the same tree.' Then he discoursed much of learning, and showed me his own in such sort, as made me remember my examiner at Cambridge. He sought much to know my advances in philosophy, and uttered profound sentences of Aristotle, and such like writers, which I had never read, and which some are bold enough to say, others do not understand; but this I must pass by. The Prince did now press my reading to him part of a Canto in Ariosto; praised my utterance, and said he had been informed of many as to my learning in the time of the Queen. He asked me what I thought pure wit was made of, and whom it did best become? Whether a King should not be the best clerk in his own country; and if this land did not entertain good opinion of his learning and good wisdom? His Majesty did much press for my opinon touching the power of Satan in matter of witchcraft, and asked me with much gravity, if I did truly understand why the devil did work more with ancient women than others? I did not refrain from a scurvy jest, and even said (notwithstanding to whom it was said) that we were taught hereof in Scripture, where it

is told that the devil walketh in dry places. His Majesty, moreover, was pleased to say much, and favouredly, of my good report for merit and good conceit; to which I did covertly answer, as not willing a subject should be wiser than his Prince, nor even appear so.

"More serious discourse did next ensue, wherein I wanted room to continue, and sometime some to escape; for the Queen, his mother, was not forgotten, nor Davison neither. His Highness told me her death was visible in Scotland before it did really happen, being, as he said, spoken of in secret by those whose power of sight presented to them a bloody head dancing in the air. He then did remark on this gift (second sight), and said he sought out of certain books a sure way to attain knowledge of future chances. Hereat he named many books which I did not know, nor by whom written; but advised me not to consult some authors which would lead me to evil consultations. I told his Majesty the power of Satan had, I much feared, damaged my bodily frame, but I had not further will to court his friendship for my soul's hurt. We next discoursed somewhat upon religion, when at length he said: 'Now, Sir, you have seen my wisdom in some sort, and I have pried into yours; pray you do me justice in your report, and in good reason, I will not fail to add to your understanding in such points as I may find you lack amendment.' I made courtesy hereat, and withdrew down the passage

and out at the gate, amidst the many varlets and lordly servants who stood around. Thus, you have the history of your neighbour's high chance and entertainment at court; more of which matter when I come home to my own dwelling, and talk these affairs in a corner. I must press to *silence* hereon, as otherwise all is undone. I did forget to tell that his Majesty much asked concerning my opinion of the new weed, tobacco, and said it would, by its use, infuse ill qualities on the brain, and that no learned man ought to taste it, and wished it forbidden. I will now forbear further exercise of your time, as Sir Robert's man waiteth for my letter to bear to you, from your old neighbour,

Friend and Cousin,

JOHN HARRINGTON.*

* Nugæ Antiquæ, vol. i. p. 366.

## CHAPTER VII.

James's Pride in his Discriminative Powers—his Discernment in examining the Accusation of Lady Exeter by Lady Lake and her Daughter.—Discovery of the hidden Meaning in Lord Mounteagle's Letter.—The King's personal Appearance—his Indifference as to Dress—his Hunting Costume.—Equestrian Processions.—The King's Addresses to the People in passing from Whitehall to Westminster—his Cowardice.—Lampoons.—James's Melancholy and Irritability—his passionate Conduct to his Servant John Gib.—Gib's Resentment.—James's Remorse.

James prided himself highly on his discriminative powers, especially in nice points concerning the administration of justice, in which he fancied that he bore an especial resemblance to Solomon. The following story is not only illustrative of the times, but affords a tolerable notion of the King's boasted powers of discernment. The eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Lake,* Secretary of State, was married to Lord Rosse, or Rous, Ambassador Extraordinary to Spain. Lord Rosse, in consequence of some family misunderstandings, afterwards retired

* He was originally secretary to Walsingham, and was afterwards employed to read the classics to Queen Elizabeth. He was actually engaged in this office when the Countess of Warwick informed him that the Queen was dead.—*Sanderson*, p. 446.

into Italy, where he embraced the Roman Catholic religion. In these family contentions, whatever they might have been, was implicated the young and handsome Countess of Exeter,* who, by marriage with the "old, gouty, and diseased" Earl, had become step-grandmother of Lord Rosse. With the view of effecting the young Countess's ruin, Lady Lake and her daughter, Lady Rosse, accused Lord Rosse† not only of having been guilty of incest with Lady Exeter, but of having attempted to poison his wife and mother-in-law. The story was soon blazoned abroad, and having reached the King's ears, he examined the witnesses separately on the subject. Lady Exeter could do little more than assert her innocence, which she did with many tears. Lady Lake and her daughter, on the other hand, produced a document purporting to be in the Countess's hand-writing, in which she declared herself guilty of the charges, and implored the pity and forgiveness of her accusers. This document was stated to have been drawn up and agreed upon at Lord Exeter's house at Wimbledon: the particular apartment, and, indeed, the precise spot in the apartment, were minutely pointed out, and Lord Rosse himself, and his Spanish servant Diego, were asserted to have been witnesses. James, however, was far from being satisfied with the testimony which had been

* Frances Bridges, second wife of Thomas, first Earl of Exeter.

† Son of William, second Earl of Exeter, by a former wife, and a peer of England in right of his grandmother.

brought forward: he, very properly, despatched a Serjeant-at-Arms to Rome, who returned with a strong asseveration from Lord Rosse and his servant, that the statement was wholly and entirely false. In addition to this step, the King took the trouble of comparing Lady Exeter's supposed confession with some of her letters, the result of which was, the expression of his decided opinion that the criminating document was a forgery. Having summoned Lady Lake and her daughter into his presence, and explained his reasons for suspicion, he informed them, that, as the charge now rested entirely on their own assertions, he must require the joint testimony of some other party. A chambermaid, one Sarah Swarton, was then produced, who affirmed that she had stood behind a hanging at the entrance of the apartment, and had overheard the Countess reading the confession of her own guilt. In addition to this, a document was produced, purporting to be the deposition of one Luke Hutton, that for forty pounds Lady Exeter had hired him to poison her accusers: this man, however, happened opportunely to appear, and denied all knowledge of the affair.

In order to ascertain what degree of credit was to be placed in the sole remaining testimony of the chambermaid, James took an opportunity of riding to Wimbledon, for the purpose of having a personal survey of the scene of action. On inspecting the apartment in which Lady Exeter was said to have

made her confession, James discovered that a person standing behind the hangings could not possibly have heard the voice of another, if placed in the situation sworn to by Sarah Swarton: the experiment was severally made by the King and the courtiers who accompanied him. The next step was to summon the housekeeper, by whom, being assured that the same hangings had remained there for thirty years, the King immediately remarked, that they did not reach within a foot of the ground, and could not consequently have concealed any person who endeavoured to hide behind them. "Oaths," said James, "cannot confound my sight."

Previous to the trial of Lady Rosse and her mother for conspiracy, the King sent for Sir Thomas Lake, and advised him to leave his wife and daughter to their fate. Sir Thomas, however, declined doing so, observing that he could not refuse to be a husband and a father. The cause was heard before James in the star-chamber, and lasted five days. The King was commencing to produce his evidence, when Lady Rosse anticipated him by confessing her guilt, and thus escaped the penal sentence which she would otherwise have incurred. Lady Lake was fined ten thousand pounds to the King, five thousand to the Countess of Exeter, and fifty pounds to Hutton. Sarah Swarton was sentenced to be whipped at the cart's tail, and to do penance at St. Martin's church. The King compared what had taken place with

the circumstances of the transgression of our first parents; Lady Lake he likened to the serpent, her daughter to Eve, and Sir Thomas to Adam. Sir Thomas Lake asserted that the whole affair cost him thirty thousand pounds.*

James would merit far higher praise for discernment, could we bring home to him the credit of having discovered the hidden meaning contained in the famous letter to Lord Mounteagle, which led to the annihilation of the Popish Plot. Whether, however, this remarkable instance of discrimination is to be attributed to him or to Secretary Cecil, will probably ever remain in doubt.†

The personal accomplishments of James were decidedly inferior to his intellectual acquirements. The portraits of him are less numerous than might have been expected, in consequence of a superstitious repugnance which he entertained to sit for his

* Aulicus Coquinariæ; Sanderson; Camden's Annals in Kennett.

† In his speech to Parliament concerning the Plot, the King gives himself the sole credit of the discovery: "When the letter was shewed to me by my Secretary, wherein a general obscure advertisement was given of some dangerous blow at this time, *I did upon the instant interpret and apprehend some dark phrases therein, contrary to the ordinary grammar construction of them, and in another sort*, than I am sure any divine, or lawyer, in any university would have taken them, to be meant by this horrible form of blowing us up all by powder; and, therefore, ordered that search to be made, whereby the matter was discovered and the man apprehended." *Harl. Misc. vol.* iii. 8.—Again, in the preamble to the act for a public thanksgiving, we find—"The conspiracy would have turned to the utter ruin of

picture, a weakness which Dr. Johnson informs us, may be reckoned among the *anfractuosities* of the human mind.* In stature James was rather above than below the common size—not ill made, though inclined to obesity—his face full and ruddy—his beard thin—and his hair of a light brown, though latterly it had become partially grey. Sir Anthony Weldon thus describes the King's personal appearance and peculiarities, with which he must have been well acquainted. "He was of a middle stature, more corpulent through his clothes than in his body, yet fat enough, his clothes ever being made large and easy, the doublets quilted for stiletto proof, his breeches in great plaits and full stuffed; he was naturally of a timorous disposition, which was the reason of his quilted doublets; his eyes large, ever

this kingdom, had it not pleased Almighty God, by inspiring the King's most excellent Majesty with a divine spirit to interpret some dark phrases of a letter shewed to his Majesty, above and beyond all ordinary construction, thereby miraculously discovering this hidden treason." We can hardly imagine the King making so public a boast, or rather, being guilty of so gross a falsehood, had the credit been due to another; and yet it is curious, in the circular of the Earl of Salisbury, to find the following decisive passage: "*We* (Salisbury and Suffolk) *both conceived that it could not by any other way be like to be attempted than with powder*, while the King was sitting in that Assembly, of which the Lord Chamberlain conceived more probability, because there was a great vault under the said chamber, *we all thought fit to forbear to impart it to the King until some three or four days before the Sessions.*"—*Winwood*, vol. ii. p. 171.

* Weldon, p. 164. For Johnson's Sesquipedalianism, see Croker's Boswell. I quote from recollection.

rolling after any stranger that came in his presence, insomuch as many for shame have left the room, as being out of countenance; his beard was very thin; his tongue too large for his mouth, which ever made him speak full in the mouth, as if eating his drink, which came out into the cup on each side of his mouth; his skin was as soft as taffeta sarsnet, which felt so, because he never washed his hands, only rubbed his fingers' ends slightly with the wet end of a napkin; his legs were very weak, having had (as was thought) some foul play in his youth before he was born, that he was not able to stand at seven years of age; that weakness made him ever leaning on other men's shoulders." From what we have seen of the King's character, we should rather have attributed the last-mentioned peculiarity to a moral, instead of a constitutional weakness.

James was extremely indifferent as to dress, and is said to have worn his clothes as long as they would hang together. When a new-fashioned Spanish hat was once brought him, he pushed it away, observing, that he neither liked the Spaniards nor their fashions. On another occasion, when an attendant produced for his wear a pair of shoes adorned with rosettes, he inquired whether they intended to make a "ruffe-footed dove" of him? He was so regular in his habits and meals, that one of his courtiers observed, that were he to awake after a seven years' sleep, he

would not only be able to tell where the King had been on each particular day, but what he had partaken of for dinner.

In his hunting costume, the appearance of James must have been highly ludicrous: Walpole says he hunted in the "most cumbrous and inconvenient of all dresses, a ruff and trowser breeches." Sir Richard Baker, who was knighted by James, informs us that the King's manner of riding was so remarkable, that it could not with so much propriety be said that he rode, as that his horse carried him. James was accustomed to say that "a horse never stumbled but when he was reined."

The King's equestrian ungainliness was the more unfortunate, in one of his exalted rank, as all processions, and journeys of state and convenience, were at this period, with few exceptions, performed on horseback. Even the peers were accustomed to ride to Parliament in their robes. Sir Symonds D'Ewes, in his curious journal, gives the following description of one of the royal processions to the House of Lords: it is illustrative of the character of James and the manners of the period. "I got a convenient place in the morning, not without some danger escaped, to see his Majesty pass to parliament in state. It is only worth the inserting in this particular, that Prince Charles rode with a rich coronet on his head, between the Sergeants-at-Arms carrying maces, and the pensioners carrying their pole-axes,

both on foot. Next before his majesty rode Henry Vere, Earl of Oxenford,* Lord Great Chamberlain of England, with Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel,† Earl Marshal of England, on his left hand, both bareheaded. Then followed his Majesty with a rich crown upon his head, and most royally caparisoned.

"In the King's short progress from Whitehall to Westminster, these passages following were accounted somewhat remarkable:—First, That he spake often and lovingly to the people, standing thick and threefold on all sides to behold him. 'God bless ye! God bless ye!' contrary to his former hasty and passionate custom, which often in his sudden distemper would bid a p—x or plague on such as flocked to see him; secondly, Though the windows were filled with many great ladies as he rode along, yet that he spake to none of them but to the Marquis of Buckingham's mother and wife, who was the sole daughter and heir to the Earl of Rutland; thirdly, That he spake particularly and bowed to the Count of Gondemar, the Spanish Ambassador; and fourthly, That looking up to one window as he passed, full of gentlemen and ladies, all in yellow bands, he cried out aloud, 'A p—x

* Henry Vere, 18th Earl of Oxford, killed at the siege of Breda in 1625.

† A Knight of the Garter, an antiquary, and a man of taste. He sat as Lord High Steward at the trial of the memorable Earl of Stafford. In 1644 he was created Earl of Norfolk. In 1646 he died at Padua, but was buried at Arundel.

take ye, are ye there?' at which, being much ashamed, they all withdrew themselves suddenly from the window."

James appears, not only to have merited his reputed character for cowardice, but to have been totally deficient in that tact which occasionally suffices to conceal a deficiency of personal courage. Even the story related of him, that he shuddered at the sight of a drawn sword, appears to be deserving of credit. Sir Kenelm Digby, in his Powder of Sympathy, assures us that when James knighted him, he very narrowly escaped having the sword thrust into his eyes: the King turning away his face, in order to avoid the sight of the naked weapon, the Duke of Buckingham was actually obliged to guide his hand to the knight's shoulder. Sir Kenelm attributes this particular weakness to the fright occasioned to his unhappy mother, by the assassination of Rizzio in her presence: she was at the time far gone in her pregnancy with James.

The ridicule which want of courage drew down upon James, was not confined to his own subjects. In France, it was not unusual to distinguish the weak monarch as *Queen* James, and his high-spirited predecessor as *King* Elizabeth. Sully tells us, that Henry the Fourth used to style his brother monarch *captain of arts and clerk at arms*. The following epigram was popular at the period:—

Tandis qu' Elizabeth fut Roy,
L'Anglois fut d'Espagne l'effroy;
Maintenant, devise et caquette,
Regi par la reine Jaquette.

The following translation appears to have been the most ingenious:—

While Elizabeth was England's King,
That dreadful name through Spain did ring;
How altered is the case—ad sa' me!
These juggling days of gude queen Jamie!

In a caricature of the time, James was exhibited with an empty scabbard; and in another as having his sword so firmly fixed in its scabbard, that it was impossible to draw it out.*

There are numerous other instances, of the King's private failings having been lashed by the wits of the period. A lampoon, containing some impudent reflections upon his court, was perused by him with evident indignation. At last he came to the concluding couplet, when his face suddenly lighted up with a smile. The lines which wrought the change were as follows:—

God bless the King, the Queen, the Prince, the Peers,
And grant the author long may wear his ears!

"By my faith, and so he shall for me," said the easy monarch; "for though he be an impudent, he is a witty and pleasant rogue."

James was constitutionally what may be called good natured; but with the increase of years and

* Sir Walter Raleigh's Ghost, in Phœnix Britannicus, p. 323.

political embarrassments, he became fretful, impatient, and suspicious. So melancholy and irritable was he at times, that it required all the efforts of Buckingham and his mother to rouse him from despondency. Sometimes he would break out into the most passionate fits of anger; and though his better nature eventually prevailed, yet the manner in which he expressed his regret was frequently quite as unkingly, as had been the previous exhibition of his rage. On one occasion, happening to require some papers relative to the Prince's proposed marriage with a daughter of Spain, he sent for his old and faithful servant, John Gib, a Scotchman, to whom, he imagined, he had intrusted them. Gib, asserting that they had never been in his keeping, and all endeavours to discover them proving vain, the King flew into a violent passion: Gib, in order to assuage his anger, threw himself on his knees at the King's feet, declaring that he was ready to suffer death, should it be ever proved that the papers had been delivered to his custody. James, losing all self-command, was cowardly enough to give his faithful old servant a kick. Gib, instantly, and in natural indignation, rose from his knees, and addressing himself to the King:—"Sir," he said, "I have served you from my youth, and you never found me unfaithful; I have not deserved this insult from you, nor can I bear to live with you after such a disgrace. Fare ye well, Sir; I shall never see your face more;" on which he left the royal

presence, mounted his horse, and rode to London. Shortly after this the papers were found, and James became alive to the act of gross injustice of which he had been guilty. He was unmeasured in the terms of reproach which he heaped upon himself, and having despatched messengers in the utmost haste after Gib, declared that he would neither eat, drink, nor sleep, till he again beheld the face of his injured follower. Gib having been induced to return, and having been conducted into the royal presence, James, in his turn, fell on his knees before him, imploring his pardon, and expressing his determination not to rise till he had obtained the forgiveness of his servant. For some time Gib modestly declined, but James would on no account be satisfied till the words of pardon had actually been pronounced.*

* Wilson, p. 219.

## CHAPTER VIII.

The King's Presentiment of his Death—his Diseases—his imprudent Indulgence in Fruit. — Communication to the King of his approaching End — his Dying Interviews with Prince Charles—his Death.—Remarks on the Religious Feelings of James.—Motives of his Toleration — his Proclamation against a Puritanical Observance of the Sabbath. — Suspicion that James met his Death by Poison. — Conduct of Buckingham and his Mother.—Eglisham's Accusations.—Curious Tract in the British Museum. — Impeachment of Buckingham in the Reign of Charles the First.—Funeral of King James. — Character of that Monarch by Ben Jonson.

THE King appears to have entertained a sort of presentiment of his own end. He had been much affected by the deaths of the Duke of Richmond and the Marquis of Hamilton:—"When the branches," he said, "are cut down, the tree cannot long remain."* His last illness commenced with a tertian ague, and was followed by a fever, which proved fatal. The courtiers, in order to console him, reminded him of an old proverb, that an ague in the spring was life for a King: he replied, that the proverb was meant for a young King. James, however, stood little in need of consolation; the courage, in which he had formerly been deficient, seemed eminently conspicuous in his death. He prepared himself for his end with a decency and

* Spotswood, p. 646.

a fortitude which would have been creditable to a braver man, and was not unworthy of the religion which he professed.

We have the authority of his physician, Sir Theodore Mayerne, that the King had been suffering for some time from stone, gout, and gravel; and according to Bishop Goodman, he was guilty of imprudences which were not unlikely to hasten his end. "Truly," says the gossiping Prelate, "I think King James every autumn did feed a little more than moderately upon fruits; he had his grapes, his nectarines, and other fruits, in his own keeping; besides, we did see that he fed very plentifully on them from abroad. I remember that Mr. French of the spicery, who sometimes did present him with the first strawberries, cherries, and other fruits, and kneeling to the King, had some speech to use to him; that he did desire his Majesty to accept them, and that he was sorry they were no better, with such like complimental words; but the King never had the patience to hear him one word, but his hand was in the basket. After this eating of fruit in the spring time, his body fell into a great looseness; which, although while he was young, did tend to preserve his health, yet now, being grown toward sixty, it did a little weaken his body, and going from Theobald's to Newmarket, and stirring abroad when, as the coldness of the year was not yet past almost, it could not be prevented but he must fall into a quartan ague, for recovery whereof

the physicians taking one course and the plaister another." His unwieldy size, for his obesity had increased with his years, had rendered such a complication of disorders the more formidable. Besides, he had always conceived such a repugnance to physic, that the doctors, even in his worst attacks, were unable to persuade him to have recourse to it.* As his indisposition became more alarming, he retired to Theobald's, which had ever been his favourite residence, and which was shortly to become the scene of his dissolution. The Lord Keeper Williams (a man whose power of amusing others appears to have been considerable) was no sooner acquainted with the King's danger, than he hastened to the royal presence, and remaining by his bedside till midnight, attempted to cheer and console the sick monarch. The following morning there was a consultation of physicians, who gave it as their opinion that his Majesty's case was hopeless. When this was intimated to the Lord Keeper, with the Prince's permission, he knelt by the bed of the royal patient:—"he came," he said, "with the message of Isaiah to Hezekiah, to exhort him to set his house in order, for that his days would be but few in the world." "I am satisfied," replied the King calmly, "and I desire you to assist me in preparing to go hence, and to be with Christ, whose mercies I pray for, and hope to find."†

* Aulicus Coquinariæ, in Sec. Hist. of James I, vol. ii. p. 287.

† Philips's Life of Lord Keeper Williams, p. 143. Echard,

Feeling his strength declining, he sent for Prince Charles, whom he retained in conversation for three hours. He solemnly exhorted him to fix his thoughts on religion, to uphold the Church of England, and to take the family of the Palatine under his protection. The points on which the King admonished his son must have been communicated by the Prince himself, since we find, by a letter of the time, that in order that the conversation might be secret,* not a single person was admitted within the distance of two or three rooms.

On the Thursday before his dissolution, the King received the sacrament, with which he expressed himself much comforted; and from this period he continued praying and meditating on religious subjects.

The Lord Keeper never left the sick chamber, nor changed his dress, till the King had breathed his last, but continued by his bedside, endeavouring to make his path easy to another world.

On the Friday night his tongue had become so swollen that it was with difficulty he could make himself understood. A little before break of day, on the Sunday, he expressed a wish to have another interview with Prince Charles, who instantly rose and came in his night dress to the

vol. i. 978. See also Mr. D'Israeli's ingenious Curiosities of Literature, vol. iii. p. 259, in which there is an extract from the MS. collection of Sir Thomas Browne, strongly corroborative of Echard's account, and to which, indeed, Echard appears to have had access. * Ellis's Original Letters, vol. iii. p. 182.

King's bedside. The dying monarch endeavoured to raise himself on his pillow, as if he had something of importance to impart, but by this time his speech was inaudible. In his last moments, however, when the prayer commonly used at the hour of death was concluded, he repeated once or twice the words, *Veni, Domine Jesu*, and shortly afterwards ceased to breathe, without any appearance of pain.* The Lord Keeper closed the King's eyes with his own hand.

It may not be out of place to speculate for a moment on the nature of those religious feelings, which could enable a pusillanimous monarch to support with dignity and courage the afflictions of disease and the terrors of dissolution. James had naturally the highest reverence for religion; his intentions were generally laudable; and he had from his youth been a constant observer of the external ordinances of the church, and even supported its supremacy with his pen. Unfortunately, however, he was a mere creature of impulse; easily led astray by passion, or the temptation of the moment. With an inherent anxiety to do good, he was constantly committing evil. Still, however, there was the same veneration for the Deity, and the same ardour in His cause. The error or crime of to-day was followed by penitential tears on the morrow, an anomaly which continued to the last

* Spotswood, p. 546; Echard, vol. i. p. 978; Howel's Letters, p. 174; Wilson, p. 285.

moment of his existence. Socrates considers that a disinclination for crime is an apology for its commission. This apothegm reminds us of the murderer's consolation on the scaffold, who expressed his hopes of being saved, on the ground that he had never passed by a church without taking off his hat. Religion, unfortunately, owing to the weakness of human nature, is open to innumerable and strange perversions; and, like many others, James had no doubt fostered illusions which smoothed his path to eternity. The contrivers of the famous gunpowder plot (many of whom were persons really estimable in private life) conceived, that, by a terrible annihilation of some hundreds of their fellow-creatures, they were doing God service, and securing their own eternal happiness: some allowance, therefore, may be made for James, if he placed any reliance on the respect which he had ever *intended* to pay to religion; and on the credit of having written some ponderous dissertations in its favour.

With regard to ecclesiastical government during his reign, James has certainly proved himself wiser than his generation. Notwithstanding his firm attachment to the interests and doctrines of the Church of England, and in spite of the obloquy which was heaped upon him, he was personally well inclined to religious toleration. Possibly he had some speculative notion, of what a more extensive experience has since substantiated, that in or-

der to destroy heresy, it is the worst policy to oppress it. In the history of the world, there does not appear to be any known instance of schism having been destroyed by violence. These remarks, however, on the King's conduct, refer principally to his treatment of the Roman Catholic portion of his subjects. Even the fact of the horrible gunpowder treason made but little difference in the line of his religious policy; with a laudable magnanimity he refrained from visiting the sins of the few upon the heads of the many, and continued in the same course of mildness and conciliation to the last. There is a supposition that, in James's toleration of the Papists, he had in view the increased indulgences which his own subjects might expect in foreign countries.* Again, less laudable motives may be attributed to him. It may be reasonably argued, that he had an object in balancing the power of the Roman Catholics against the augmenting influence of the Puritans. Possibly, too, his apprehensions of personal danger were not without their weight; James must have been well aware of the risk which he incurred should he make himself odious to a daring and relentless party.† It has been supposed, and that not without reason, that the exer-

* Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 386.

† Burnet evidently attributes the King's moderation to fear. He says that ever after the Gunpowder Conspiracy, James was careful of not provoking the Jesuits, for it showed him of what they were capable.—*Hist. of his own Time*, vol. i. p. 19.

tions and sufferings of the Roman Catholics, in behalf of his unhappy mother, may in some degree have influenced him in his praiseworthy moderation.

There is, however, a more substantial reason why we should not bestow unqualified praise upon James for his religious toleration. It is not generally known, perhaps, that two unhappy creatures were burnt for heresy during his reign. One of these, Bartholomew Legate, a Socinian, is said to have been remarkable for theological learning, and for the blamelessness of his career. James attempted to convert him; but finding him fixed in his persuasions, the bishops declared him to be an intractable heretic, and he was burnt to ashes at Smithfield. The other victim was one Edward Wightman, a harmless enthusiast, who had the misfortune to fancy himself Elias. The heresies of Ebion, Cerinthus, Valentinian, Arrius, Macedonius, Simon Magus, Manes, Manichæus, Photinus, and the Anabaptists, names of which the unhappy being had probably never heard, were summed up in the warrant for his execution.*

One act of James's life can never be sufficiently commended. During the progresses made through his kingdom, he had noticed the pernicious effects which a puritanical observance of the Sabbath was producing on the health and happiness of the lower classes of his subjects. With the certainty that

* See Fuller's Church History.

religious bigotry would be everywhere arrayed against him, he issued a proclamation, that, after the performance of Divine service, his subjects should be allowed to indulge in all legitimate sports and amusements. Without entering into any theological discussion, as to the proper observance of the Lord's day, there are few who will deny to James the real credit which he deserved on this occasion. Surely that monarch stands high among the thrones of the earth, who willingly turns from his own pomps and vanities, to the sufferings and discomforts of the poor and unprotected; and who readily encounters obloquy and discontent, in order to throw a gleam of sunshine over the broad shadows of human wretchedness.

The suspicion, which was very commonly entertained at the time, that James met his death by poison, has either been altogether disregarded, or obscurely hinted at, by our historians. So usual has it ever been to attribute the deaths of princes to foul play, that we must receive with extreme caution any arguments which may be brought forward in support of any such supposition in the present case. That Buckingham and his mother applied remedies to the sick monarch, which were totally unauthorized by the physicians, is a fact beyond the possibility of a doubt. Whether, however, these remedies were of an injurious nature, and intended to destroy existence, is a circumstance not so easy to resolve.

Certain it is that Buckingham was fast declining

in the royal favour, and that he had everything to gain, and nothing to lose, by the King's demise at that particular time. Dr. Eglisham, one of the royal physicians, accused Buckingham, in print, of having murdered his sovereign; and another of the King's physicians, Dr. Craig, was banished the court for giving utterance to his suspicions. The latter individual was great uncle to Bishop Burnet, who informs us that his father had the account from Craig, and was by him strongly prepossessed with the truth of the accusation. "The King," says Coke, "having had an ague, the Duke of Buckingham did, upon Monday the 21st, when in the judgment of the physicians the ague was declining, apply plaisters to the wrists and belly of the King, and also did deliver several quantities of drink to the King, though some of the King's physicians did disallow thereof, and refused to meddle further with the King, until the said plaisters were removed; and that the King found himself worse thereupon, and that droughts, raving, fainting, and an intermitting pulse followed hereupon; and the drink was twice given by the Duke's own hands, and a third time refused; and the physicians to comfort him, telling him that this second impairement was from cold taken, or some other cause: 'No, no,' said the King, 'it is that which I had from Buckingham.'" Weldon says, that during the King's illness, he frequently implored the Earl of Montgomery to

be careful that he had fair play; and that, on one occasion, when his servants were endeavouring to console him, "Ah," he said, "it is not the ague that afflicts me, but the powder I have taken, and the black plaister they have laid on my stomach." A less suspicious authority is Bishop Goodman, who, while he entirely exculpates Buckingham, evidently believes that his old master met with an untimely end. "I have no good opinion," he says, "of his death, yet I was the last man who did him homage in the extremity of his sickness." Howell, who was at Theobald's at the time of the King's death, in a letter to his father, alludes to the *mutterings* of the doctors, that a plaister had been applied by the Duke's mother, to the "outside of the King's stomach."

Arthur Wilson, another contemporary writer, does not materially differ from the foregoing accounts. "The King," he says, "that was very much impatient in his health, was patient in his sickness and death. Whether he had received anything that extorted his aguish fits into a fever, which might the sooner stupify the spirits, and hasten his end, cannot be asserted; but the Countess of Buckingham had been tampering with him, in the absence of the doctors, and had given him a medicine to drink, and laid a plaister on his side, of which the King much complained, and they did rather exasperate his distemper than allay it: and these things were admitted by the insinuating per-

suasions of the Duke her son, who told the King they were approved medicines, and would do him much good. And though the Duke often strove to purge himself for this application, as having received both medicine and plaister from Dr. Remington, at Dunmow, in Essex, who had often cured agues and such distempers with the same; yet they were arguments of a complicated kind not easy to unfold; considering that whatsover he received from the doctor in the country, he might apply to the King what he pleased in the court."

It would be curious to ascertain the nature and ingredients of the remedies, which were applied by Buckingham. Bishop Kennett informs us, that he was shown a copy of Dr. Eglisham's pamphlet against Buckingham, by the Spanish ambassador, in which Eglisham declared, that neither he nor the other physicians could discover the nature of the plaister. It appears also, by the same authority, that about a week after the King's death, Eglisham being on a visit with Sir Mathew Lister at the Earl of Warwick's house in Essex, situated close to the residence of Dr. Remington, they sent for the doctor, in order to ascertain the nature of the plaister which he had supplied to Buckingham. Remington giving them the information required, Sir Matthew Lister produced a piece of the plaister which had been applied to the King. On examining it, Remington seemed much surprised, and offered to

take an oath that it was not the same which he had sent to the Duke.* There is a copy of Eglisham's pamphlet in the British Museum, which has been reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany; but there is no trace of the passage alluded to by Kennett. Sanderson, another writer of the time, assures us that the drink given to James, was "a posset of milk and ale, hartshorn, and marygold flowers, ingredients harmless and ordinary." With regard to the plaister, he says, "that although the physicians were justly offended at the Duke's interference with their practice, yet that the composition was as harmless as the drink, and that a portion of it was even *eat* by those who had manufactured it. For some months afterwards, he says, it was open to the examination of the curious.

Eglisham's pamphlet,† though undoubtedly curious, is only to be received as evidence, when corroborated by the assertions of other writers. After the King's death, he gave such unguarded utterance to his suspicions, as to render it necessary for his own safety that he should fly the kingdom. He retired to Brussels, where he published the tract in question. It had been, in the first instance, submitted, in the form of a petition, to the two houses of Parliament; but whether it was actually pre-

* Wilson in Kennett, vol. ii. p. 790.

† "The Forerunner of Revenge, by George Eglisham, Doctor of Physic, and one of the physicians to King James of happy memory, for his Majesty's person, above ten years' space. London: 1642."

sented, does not appear. It was afterwards translated into High Dutch, with a view of throwing obloquy upon the royal family of England.* The suspicions of Eglisham's veracity are founded on the extreme rancorous feeling which he exhibits towards Buckingham, and some internal absurdities to which we shall hereafter allude. The following passage is more remarkable, from its being borne out, in a great degree, by the evidence of the writers already recited :—"The King being sick of a certain ague, which in the spring was of itself never found deadly, the Duke took this opportunity, when all the doctors of physic were at dinner, upon the Monday before the King died, without their knowledge or consent, and offered to him a white powder to take, the which he a long time refused; but overcome with his flattering importunity, at length took it in wine, and immediately became worse and worse, falling into many swoonings and pains, and violent fluxes of the belly, so tormented, that his Majesty cried out aloud of this white powder, 'Would to God I had never taken it! it will cost me my life.'

"In like manner also, the Countess of Buckingham, my Lord of Buckingham's mother, upon the Friday, the physicians being also absent and at dinner, and not made acquainted with her doings, applied a plaister to the King's heart and breast; whereupon he grew faint and short breathed, and in

* Kennett's Complete Hist. vol. ii. p. 790.

a great agony. Some of the physicians after dinner, returning to see the King, by the offensive smell of the plaister, perceived something to be about him, hurtful to him, and searched what it should be, and found it out, and exclaimed that the King was poisoned. The Duke of Buckingham entering, commanded the physicians out of the room, caused one of them to be committed prisoner to his own chamber, and another to be removed from court; quarrelled with others of the King's servants in his sick Majesty's own presence so far, that he offered to draw his sword against them in his Majesty's sight. And Buckingham's mother, kneeling down before his Majesty, cried out with a brazen face, 'Justice, justice, sir, I demand justice of your Majesty!' His Majesty asked her for what? 'For that which their lives are no ways sufficient to satisfy, for saying that my son and I have poisoned your Majesty.' 'Poisoned me?' said he; with that turning himself, swooned, and she was removed.*

"The Sunday after his Majesty died, Bucking-

* Mr. Meade, in a letter to Sir Martin Sluteville, thus alludes to this remarkable scene:—"The Countess of Buckingham, the Tuesday before he [the King] died, would needs make trial of some receipt she had approved; but being without the privity of the physicians, occasioned so much discontent in Dr. Cragge, that he uttered some plain speeches, for which he was commanded out of the court, the Duke himself (as some say) complaining to the sick King of the word he spake." —*Ellis's Orig. Letters*, vol. iii. p. 183.

ham desired the physicians who attended his Majesty to sign with their own hands a writ of testimony, that the powder which he gave him was a good and safe medicine, which they refused.

"Immediately after his Majesty's death, the physician, who was commanded to his chamber, was set at liberty, with a caveat to hold his peace; the others threatened, if they kept not good tongues in their heads.

"But in the mean time the King's body and head swelled above measure, his hair, with the skin of his head, stuck to his pillow, and his nails became loose upon his fingers and toes."

Eglisham, moreover, accused the Duke, of having caused the death of the Marquess of Hamilton by poison. The following passage is too ridiculous for belief, and goes far to throw an air of fiction over Eglisham's extraordinary narration. The *post-mortem* appearance of the Marquess's body is thus described:—"No sooner was he dead, when the force of the poison began to overcome the force of his body, but it began to swell in such sort, that his thighs were swollen six times as big as their natural proportion, his belly became as big as the belly of an ox, his arms as the natural quantity of his thighs, his neck as broad as his shoulders, his cheeks over the top of his nose, that his nose could not be seen or distinguished; the skin of his forehead two fingers high. He was all over of divers colours, full of waters, some white, some black,

some red, some yellow, some green, some blue, and that as well within his body as without. His mouth and nose foaming blood, mixed with froth of divers colours, a yard high."

We are not informed by Dr. Eglisham, why the King's body did not exhibit similar evidences of foul play. Certain it is, that no traces of poison were discoverable. In a letter of the time, from Mr. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, we find that when the body was opened by the physicians, they found "his heart of an extraordinary bigness, all his vitals sound, as also his head, which was very full of brains; but his blood was wonderfully tainted with melancholy; and the corruption thereof supposed the cause of his death."* Sir Symonds D'Ewes, who adds his quantum of suspicion to the "potion and plaister," informs us that when the King's skull was opened, the *pia mater*, was so full of brains that they could "scarcely be kept from spilling." There is no allusion, however, in any documents of the time to the least trace of poison having been discovered.

There is another curious tract, in the British Museum, purporting, after the manner of Lucian, to be a conversation in the lower regions between James, the Duke of Buckingham, the Marquess of Hamilton, and Dr. Eglisham. The interview between the murderer and his victims is sufficiently tragical, and

* Harl. MSS. p. 389; Ellis's Orig. Letters, vol. iii. p. 12.

would do credit to any provincial theatre in the realm:—

"*King James.*—Dost thou know me, Buckingham? If our spirits or ghosts retain any knowledge of mortal actions, let us discourse together."

"*Buckingham.*—Honour hath not now transported me to forget your Majesty; I know you to be the umbra or shade of my Sovereign, King James, unto whom Buckingham was once so great a favourite. But what ghost of Aristotle is that which bears you company? His pale looks show him to be some scholar.

"*King James.*—It is the changed shadow of George Eglisham, for ten years together my doctor of physic, who, in the discharge of his place was ever to me most faithful; this other is his and my old friend, the Marquess of Hamilton.

"*Buckingham.*—My liege, I cannot discourse as long as they are present, they do behold me with such threatening looks; and your Majesty hath a disturbed brow, as if you were offended with your servant, Buckingham.

"*King James.*—I, and the Marquess of Hamilton, have just cause to frown and be offended; hast thou not been our most ungrateful murderer?

"*Buckingham.*—Who—I, my liege? What act of mine could make you to suspect that I could do a deed so full of horror? Produce a witness to my forehead, before you condemn me upon bare suspicion.

"*King James.*—My doctor, Eglisham, shall prove it to thy face, and if thou hast but any sense of goodness, shall make thy pale ghost blush, ungrateful Buckingham!"

Shortly after this Eglisham steps forward, and with all proper dignity accuses the Duke, not only of having poisoned James and the Marquess, but of having plotted and contrived the Doctor's own departure from the world. Buckingham, staggered by the proofs which are brought against him, at length confesses his crimes, and spouts, as he sweeps from the stage, a sort of dramatic epilogue, of which the following lines are the conclusion :—

> You, O good King, were gracious to that man,
> Whose ghost you see, the Duke of Buckingham.
> But I was most ungrateful to my King,
> And Marquess Hamilton, whom I did bring
> Both to untimely deaths, forgive my sin.
> Great King, great Marquess, Doctor Eglisham,
> All murdered by the Duke of Buckingham.
> Forgive me all, and pardon me, I pray;
> This being said, the Duke's ghost shrunk away.*

One of the articles of impeachment against the Duke of Buckingham, in the succeeding reign, was, *not* for having actually poisoned the King, but for having dared to administer remedies to the Sovereign, without the concurrence of the physicians. To say the least, it was a strange and unjustifiable act. Charles, as is well known, to prevent the question of the Duke's conduct from coming to

* Harl. Misc. vol. v. p. 211.

an issue, braved the wrath of the Commons, and dissolved the Parliament. There was another attempt to stigmatize Buckingham as a wholesale poisoner. Eglisham asserts, in his petition to Parliament, that at the time of the Duke of Richmond's death, a paper was found in King Street, in which Buckingham had inserted the names of several noblemen, all of whom had since died. He adds that his own name came after the Marquess of Hamilton's with a proviso that *he should be embalmed.* This would be considered as mere nonsense, did it not appear by the evidence of Sir Henry Wotton that some such document really existed, though without doubt it was a forgery. "I had a commission laid upon me," says Sir Henry, "by sovereign command, to examine a lady about a certain filthy accusation, grounded upon nothing but a few names taken up by a footman in a kennel, and straight baptized. It was a list of such as the Duke had appointed to be poisoned at home, himself being then in Spain. I found it to be the most malicious and frantic surmise, and the most contrary to his nature, that I think had ever been brewed from the beginning of the world." Wotton speaks of Eglisham as a "fugitive physician," and corroborates a statement made by Sanderson, on the authority of Sir Belthaser Gerbier, that when Eglisham offered to publish a recantation of his scandalous pamphlet, for a certain remuneration, the Duke listened to the overture

with indignation and disgust.* That Buckingham's mother, who was under the influence of the Jesuits, should have been induced to tamper with the King, is not improbable; but that Buckingham himself should have entered into the conspiracy, notwithstanding his many faults, is in utter contradiction to all our preconceived notions of his character.

King James died on the 27th of March, 1625, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign over the kingdom of England. On the 7th of May he was buried at Westminster with proper solemnity. We will conclude our notices of him with Ben Jonson's admirable character of the weak monarch, in his Masque of the Gypsies Metamorphosed. One of the wandering tribe is supposed to discover the King's identity, by her professional knowledge of palmistry :—

With you, lucky bird, I begin,—let me see,
I aim at the best, and I trow you are he;
Here 's some luck already, if I understand
The grounds of my art, here 's a gentleman's hand.
I 'll kiss it for luck's sake. You shall by this line,
Love a horse and a hound, but no part of a swine;†
To hunt the brave stag, not so much for your food,
As the weal of your body, and the health of your blood.
You 're a man of good means, and have territories store,
Both by sea and by land; and were born, sir, to more;
Which you, like a lord, and the prince of your peace,
Content with your havings, despise to increase:

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* Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 177; Sanderson, p. 593.

† The abhorrence which James entertained for a pig, has already been mentioned.

You live chaste and single, and have buried your wife,
And mean not to marry by the line of your life.
Whence he that conjectures your quality, learns
You 're an honest good man, and take care of your bairns.
Your Mercury's hilt, too, a wit doth betoken,
Some book-craft you have, and are pretty well spoken:
But stay, in your Jupiter's mount what is here?
A Monarch! a King! what wonders appear!
High, bountiful, just; a Jove for your parts,
A master of men, and that reign in their hearts.

# ANNE OF DENMARK,

## QUEEN OF JAMES I.

Moral Character of the Queen of James I.—her Contempt for her Husband—his real Dislike and affected Fondness for her—her Manners on arriving in Scotland—her personal Appearance — her Catholic Bigotry — her Attachment to Vanities and Amusements.—James's Anxiety that his Wife should appear with Splendour among his English Subjects.—Indecorous Character of the Court Masks and Plays.—The Queen addicted to Gallantry—her Lover, the Earl of Murray.—James's Jealousy of the Earl.—Assassination of the latter by the Earl of Huntley.—Huntley's Flight and Concealment.—The King implicated in the Deed.—Alexander Ruthven and the Queen.—The Ribbon given by the Queen to her young Lover.—Supposed Origin of the pretended Gowrie Conspiracy. — The Queen's Favourites. — Lord Herbert of Cherbury—Death of the Queen.—Remarkable Constellation. — Cause of the Queen's Death — her Friendship for Sir Walter Raleigh—her Letter to the Duke of Buckingham interceding for Sir Walter's Life.—Vindication of her Character by old Writers—her Children.

A LADY remarkable for all the masculine qualities in which her husband was so sadly deficient. Ambitious, bold, enterprising; fond of tumult and grandeur; impatient of control; engaging in all the civil and religious factions of the period; despising her timorous and pedantic husband, and yet vainly endeavouring to govern him and his

councils, she failed in her objects from want of capacity, yet saved herself from obloquy by the deepest cunning. James, however subservient he may have been to his passions and his favourites—however deficient in moral and personal courage, was at least no dastard to his wife. With all her turbulence and high spirit, she never obtained the slightest influence over her easy spouse. No two people could be more unlike: the only similarity of character, was in a mutual admiration of masculine beauty.

Thwarted in her ambitious views, and piqued at being compelled to yield to a man, whom she so thoroughly despised, her violence and hatred exceeded all bounds. She was in the habit, at Edinburgh, of forcing herself into the King's presence, for the mere purpose of ridiculing him, and diverting herself at his expense. His life is even said to have been in the utmost danger from her violence, while he remained in Scotland. The worst trait in her character was her endeavour to prejudice her children against their father. The contempt of his parent, with which she inspired Prince Henry, was probably, in a great degree, the origin of James's want of natural affection for his son.*

After his accession to the throne of England, James almost entirely separated himself from his ungovernable wife. Peyton says, that though he sometimes visited her through compliment, he

* Carte's History of England, vol. ii. p. 748.

never "lodged with her a night for many years." Notwithstanding, however, their nocturnal estrangement, James, in his Edict on Duels, continues speaking of her as *our dearest bed-fellow*. He was indeed ever anxious to impress his subjects with a notion of his uxoriousness. Osborne mentions an instance when he himself was present, on which occasion James, before proceeding on one of his hunting expeditions, took a sort of public farewell of his Queen, "Taking leave of her at her coach-side, by kissing her sufficiently to the middle of her shoulders, for so low she went bare all the days I had the fortune to know her." Weldon says, that James was ever best when farthest from his Queen.

Her manners, on her first arrival in Scotland, were anything but suited to enliven her husband's court, or to conciliate the people among whom she came to reside. The writer of a letter among the Cecil Papers thus speaks of her at this period:— "Our Quein carys a marvelus gravity, quhilk, w^t^ her patriall solitarines, contrar to y^e^ humor of our pepell hath bannised all our ladys clein from her."* The Queen's manners afterwards improved. Lady Arabella Stuart, in a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, dated from the Court at Woodstock, gives her the highest praise for courtesy, and remarks that she was in the habit of speaking kindly to the

* Lodge's Illustrations of English History, vol. iii. p. 2.

people, whom she happened to meet in her way.* This statement is corroborated by another letter from Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir Thomas Parry, in which the writer observes, "The Queen lieth this night at Sir John Fortescue's, where the King meets her. She giveth great contentment to the world in her fashion and courteous behaviour to the people.†

Of the merits of Queen Anne's personal appearance we know very little. The portraits we have seen of her were drawn at a late period of her life, and principally indicate a masculine character, and display a tawdry and tasteless style of dress. The beauty of Queens is seldom left uncelebrated; and as historians are silent on the present occasion, there is reason to suppose that there was little room for panegyric. Peyton alone styles her, "A body of a goodly presence, beautiful eyes, and strong to be joined with a prince young and weak in constitution; a union unsuitable for a virago to couple with a spiny and thin creature." Osborne's praise is somewhat dubious:—"Her skin," he says, "was more amiable than the features it covered, though not the disposition, in which report rendered her very debonnaire." Bishop Goodman remarks that there was little in her person to make his Majesty uxorious.

* Lodge's Illustrations of English History, vol. iii. p. 177.
† Ellis' Original Letters, vol. iii. p. 82.

Anne was a bigoted Catholic, a fact not generally dwelt upon by historians. It is strange, that Horace Wapole, a curious researcher, should have been long ignorant of this important circumstance. Speaking of the Bacon papers, he says, there is "one most extraordinary passage, *entirely overlooked*, and yet of great consequence to explain the misfortunes into which her descendants afterwards fell. *The Pope sends her beads and reliques, and thanks her for not communicating with heretics at her coronation.*"* Sully, however, was not only acquainted with the fact, but evidently dreaded her influence, as regarded the predominancy of the Spanish interests and the advancement of the Roman Catholic religion. He says, that when following the King from Scotland, it was believed she was coming to England, in order to add her personal influence to the Spanish faction; a circumstance which so disturbed the King, that he sent the Earl of Lennox to oppose her progress, though he was unable to persuade her to return. The Spaniards indeed, whose interests she adhered to, in opposition to those of France, appear to have rested their hopes of destroying the Protestant faith in England principally on her influence and exertions.† She endeavoured to instil her prejudices, in favour of Spain and the Pope, into the mind

* Royal and Noble Authors. Lord Orford's Works, vol. iii. p. 273.

† Birch's Life of Prince Henry, p. 45.

of her son Prince Henry. Sully says, that none doubted but that she was inclined to declare herself "absolutely on that side;" and that in public she affected to have the Prince entirely under her guidance. In a letter from Sir Charles Cornwallis to the Earl of Salisbury, she is even stated to have told the Spanish Ambassador, that he might one day see the Prince of Wales on a pilgrimage to St. Jago.*

Time and experience appear at length to have convinced her, of the inflexibility of her husband's disposition, and of her own incapacity for meddling in state affairs. With the exception of some occasional interference, in the rise or downfal of a favourite, she seems to have contented herself with entertaining the King and his courtiers with balls and masques. "The arrival of the Queen in London," says Sully, "did not occasion all that disorder which had been apprehended; the discontented found her not to be what they had conceived. It seemed as though her sudden change of situation and country had made as sudden a change in her inclinations and manners: from an effect in the elegances of England, or from those of the royal dignity, she became disposed to vanities and amusements, and seemed wholly engaged in the pursuit of pleasure. She so entirely neglected or forgot the Spanish politics, as gave reason to believe she had, in reality, only pretended to be attached to them."

* Winwood, Memorials, vol. iii. p. 12.

King James had quitted Edinburgh for his new dominions on the 5th of April 1603; and in June following, accompanied by her two eldest children, Prince Henry and the Princess Elizabeth, the Queen prepared to follow him. James, either willing to gratify her taste for show, or desirous that his wife should appear among his new subjects with all due magnificence, not only gave the strictest orders for her honourable reception, but even commanded some of the late Queen's jewels to be transmitted to her, before the former had been laid in the grave. On the 15th of April we find him writing to his ministers: "Touching the jewels to be sent for our wife, our meaning is not to have any of the principal jewels of state to be sent so soon or so far off; but only such as, by the opinion of the ladies attendant about the late Queen our sister, you shall find to be meet for the ordinary apparelling and ornament of her; the rest may come after when she shall be nearer hand. But we have thought good to put you in mind, that it shall be convenient that besides jewels you send some of the ladies of all degrees who were about the Queen, as soon as the funeral be past, or some others, whom you will think meetest and most willing and able to abide travel, to meet her as far as they can at her entry into the realm, or soon after; for that we hold needful for her honour: and that they do speedily enter into their journey, for that we would have her here with the soonest. And

as for horses, litters, coaches, saddles, and other things of that nature, whereof we have heretofore written, for her use, and sent to you our cousin of Worcester, we have thought good to let you know that the proportion mentioned in your particular letter to us shall suffice in our opinion for her. And so you may take order for the sending of them away with the ladies that are to come, or before, as you shall think meetest."* The Queen arrived at York on the 11th of June; and having remained there some days, proceeded to East Neston, the seat of Sir George Farmer, where she was joined by the King.

For her splendid entertainments, those magnificent masques which made the "nights more costly than the days," she has been often and sufficiently celebrated. They appear, however, to have been conducted with but little attention to decorum. The Countess of Dorset mentions in her memoirs, that there was "much talk of a mask which the Queen had at Winchester, and how all the ladies about the court had gotten such ill names, that it was grown a scandalous place; and the Queen herself was much fallen from her former greatness and reputation she had in the world." Peyton's censure is far stronger: "The masks," he says, "and plays at Whitehall were used only as incentives for lust, therefore the courtiers invited the citizens' wives to those shows on purpose to defile them. There is not a

* Ellis, Orig. Letters, vol. iii. p. 70.

chamber nor lobby, if it could speak, but would verify this."

Whatever share the Queen may have had, in effecting a kind understanding between the courtiers and the citizens' wives, it is certain that she herself was far from being averse to the tender passion. Carte tells us that she took a great delight in making the King jealous, and *with this view* took liberties which were very improper, and were the cause of some excitement at court. It is to be feared, however, that Anne had less her husband's jealousy at heart than her own gratification. According to the chronicles or scandal of the time, she was far from being satisfied with the cold attentions and ungainly form of her pedantic spouse. The first person on whom the Queen is reported to have fixed her affections was the brave, the beautiful, and unfortunate Earl of Murray. This is the "Bonnie Earl" of Scottish song; a name dear to those whose hearts have ever kindled with poetry, or sympathised with misfortune. A well-known ballad of the period concludes with an allusion to the Queen's attachment:—

O the bonny Earl of Murray!
He was the Queen's love.

The Earl is also celebrated in the still popular ballad of Childe Waters.

James has been accused of having sacrificed the Earl's life to his jealousy of the Queen. This sup-

position we should be extremely inclined to doubt, had not our suspicions been already aroused by the circumstances attending the tragical fate of the Gowries. Murray was accused, whether wrongfully or justly is not known, of having abetted the Earl of Bothwell in his famous attack upon the King's person in Scotland: James, instead of making use of legitimate means to insure the apprehension of the suspected Earl, commissioned the Earl of Huntley, Murray's hereditary and deadly enemy, to bring him into his presence. Murray was not exactly the man to submit tamely to be made the prisoner of his feudal foe. A shot from his castle killed one of Huntley's followers. The storming party became furious and succeeded in burning the fortress. Murray, finding further opposition hopeless, endeavoured to effect his escape by rushing through the flames: unfortunately, however, his long hair caught fire, which enabled his enemies to follow him in the darkness to the rocks by the sea-shore, among which he probably expected to find a hiding-place. He defended himself as long as he was able, but fell at last covered with wounds. One Gordon, of Buckie, who had been the first to strike him, insisted that Huntley should implicate himself in the odium, by joining in the bloody work, and stabbing his defenceless enemy before he died. Huntley consented, and stabbed Murray in the face. The dying Earl fixed his eyes on his hereditary foe;—"You have spoiled," he said, "a better face than

your own." Huntley had actually alighted from his horse to perform the dastardly act. Murray's friends refused to bury him till they had avenged his death.*

Huntley, after the execrable deed, continued for some time in real or affected concealment. During his flight he applied for refuge and hospitality at Lord Sinclair's castle of Ravenscraig. Lord Sinclair told him that he was welcome, but that he would have been much more welcome if he had passed on. However, notwithstanding this rough reception, Lord Sinclair entertained him kindly, and conducted him in safety to the Highlands. Huntley, shortly afterwards, returned to Edinburgh, where he escaped with a brief imprisonment.

A suspicion certainly rests upon James. In the Advocates' library in Edinburgh are preserved the MS. annals of Sir James Balfour, Lyon King at Arms, who was living at the time, and who inserts among his papers the following curious annotation:—"The seventh of February this year, 1592, the Earl of Murray was cruelly murdered by the Earl of Huntley, at his house in Dumbrissel, in Fifeshire; and with him Dunbar, Sheriff of Murray. It was given out and publicly talked, that the Earl of Huntley was only the instrument of perpetrating this fate, to satisfy the King's jealousy of Murray, whom the Queen, more rashly than wisely, some few days before, had commended in the King's hear-

* Spotswood, p. 387.

ing, with too many epithets of a proper and gallant man."

The story is in some degree corroborated by Oldmixon. "I have it," he says, "from the best authority, that the King conceived a mortal hatred against the Earl of Murray for an expression of his wife Queen Anne, who, looking out at a window and seeing that Lord entering the court, said he was the handsomest man she ever saw. 'What, said the King, 'handsomer than I?' and swore he would have his life."*

A supposition has long existed that the unfortunate John Earl of Gowrie was a favoured lover of Queen Anne. There is, however, every reason to believe, that it was not the Earl, but his younger brother, Alexander Ruthven, the sharer of his tragical fate, on whom the Queen's affections were in reality fixed.† More than one writer has endeavoured to trace the secret history of the Gowrie conspiracy from the existence of this romantic amour. They assert that the whole plot was a mere counterfeit, contrived by James himself, in order to revenge himself by the destruction of his rival. This supposition, though contrary to the King's well known character for timidity, is nevertheless consonant with his ideas and system of king-craft; and

* History of the Stuarts, p. 10.

† See Pinkerton's Essay subjoined to Laing's History of Scotland. Also Life and Death of John Earl of Gowrie. Edinburgh, 1818; and Peyton's Divine Catastrophe.

though it requires confirmation, is not altogether unsupported by correlative circumstances.

The following story, the authority for which appears to rest entirely on traditional report, was inserted in Cant's notes on "the Muse's Threnody," and is related by Pinkerton in his Essay on the Gowrie Conspiracy:—The Queen, it appears, in a moment of affection, had presented Alexander Ruthven with a ribbon, which some time before had been given to her by the King, and which Ruthven, in his gallantry, hung round his neck. One fine summer day, the young courtier, being in the royal garden at Falkland, threw himself under the shade of a tree, where he fell fast asleep. The weather being extremely sultry, had induced him to leave his neck and bosom uncovered. James, happening to pass by, paused for a moment to look at the sleeping Adonis, and perceived the fatal ribbon which he had so recently presented to his Queen. He was exceedingly disconcerted, and instead of continuing his walk, returned to the palace. His movement, however, was observed by a young lady of the court (supposed to be Lady Beatrice Ruthven, the sleeper's sister,) who instantly tore the ribbon from her brother's neck, and rushing with it into the Queen's presence, requested her Majesty to place it in a drawer, observing hurriedly that the motive of her proceeding would shortly be discovered. As the young lady retired by one door, the King entered by another, and desired the Queen, who was in the sixth

month of her pregnancy with Charles the First, to produce the ribbon which he had lately given to her. Anne, without the slightest discomposure, drew it from the drawer in which she had just deposited it, and placed it in the King's hands. James examined it for some time, observing as he returned it, "Evil take me, if like be not an ill mark."* That Alexander Ruthven, and not his brother Lord Gowrie, was the object of the Queen's regard, is confirmed by a letter from Sir Henry Nevill, dated London, 15th November, 1600:— "Out of Scotland," he writes, "we hear there is no good agreement between the King of Scots and his wife, and *many are of opinion, that the discovery of some affection between her and the Earl of Gowrie's brother (who was killed with him,) was the truest cause and motive of all that tragedy.*"† Peyton, on the other hand, in his Divine Catastrophe of the House of Stuart, while he accuses James of the guilt of Gowrie's murder, asserts that it was the Earl himself who was the Queen's paramour. "After Huntley's death," he says, "the Queen found others to satisfy her unruly appetite; as, namely, the Earl of Gowrie, a lord of a comely visage, good stature, and of an attracting allurement; who, upon King James's suspicion of often society with the Queen, converted to the poison of hatred the friendship and love of the Earl; causing Ramsay, after Earl of

* Life of John, Earl of Gowrie, p. 141.

† Winwood's Memorials, vol. i. p. 274.

Holderness, with others, to murder Gowrie in his own house ; giving it out for a state, that the Earl, with others, would have killed him; and to make his falsehood appear odious in shape of truth, appointed the fifth of August a solemn day of thanksgiving for his supposed delivery; and in this mocked the God of heaven." There is little doubt, however, that Peyton is wrong in his identity.

This writer is remarkably free in his allusions to the Queen's gallantry. He mentions one Beely, a Dane, (who had accompanied Anne from her own country,) as having been particularly distinguished by her favours. This modest individual had the assurance to inform Peyton, "in great secrecie," that he was the undoubted father of King Charles. Peyton's evidence is suspicious, whenever, as is the case in this last incident, it happens to be unsupported by the testimony of others. He mentions as the Queen's last favourites, two brothers of the name of Buchanan, to whom she equally distributed her smiles. The catastrophe of this fraternal intrigue is somewhat startling. Peyton says, that they fell out for her love, fought a duel, *and killed one another*.

If the famous Lord Herbert of Cherbury, in his interesting life of himself, had afforded fewer instances of personal vanity, we should have imagined that the Queen had entertained a feeling, somewhat warmer than friendship, for that handsome and gallant philosopher. Lord Herbert, after mentioning that Richard, Earl of Dorset, had paid

him the compliment of secretly obtaining a copy of his picture, from the hands of one Larking, who had painted the original, thus evidently alludes to her Majesty's predilection:—"But a greater person," he says, "than I will here nominate, got another copy from Larking; and placing it afterwards in her cabinet, gave occasion to those who saw it after her death, of more discourse than I could have wished." In another place he adds:—"And now in court a great person sent for me divers times to attend her, which summons though I obeyed, yet God knoweth I declined coming to her as much as conveniently I could without incurring her displeasure." Her mother remonstrated with her on the impropriety of her conduct, through the medium of her brother Ulric Duke of Holstein. The interference, however, appears to have excited her anger, without in the least reforming her morals.*

In the latter period of her life, the Queen seems voluntarily to have resigned the vanities of the world, and to have exchanged the frivolities of Somerset House and Whitehall, for the peaceful seclusion of Hampton Court and Greenwich. Queen Anne died at Hampton Court on the first of March, 1619, shortly after taking a last farewell of her favourite son Prince Charles. Sanderson says, "A lingering sickness and fulness of humours brought her to a dropsy, and for her recovery, she some years before frequented the Bath,

* Carte's History of England, vol. ii. p. 748.

with continual physic." Camden places her age at forty-five, which would make her only fifteen at the time of her marriage. On the fifth of the same month, we are informed that her entrails were placed in a sexangular box or case, and interred by her servants in Henry the Seventh's chapel at Westminster. On the ninth, her body was conveyed at night to Somerset-house, formerly the temporary resting-place for the remains of the great, between the chamber of death and their last home. Within less than three weeks after her decease, we find the King enjoying himself at a horse-race at Newmarket.* The Queen was finally interred at Westminster on the 13th of May 1619.

Such is the importance which the vulgar attach to rank, that a remarkable constellation, which appeared in the heavens shortly before her death, was considered as prophetic of that event; as if nature would trouble herself with unusual phenomena at the mere demise of a silly and lascivious woman. Rushworth says,—"The common people, who were great admirers of princes, were of opinion that the blazing-star rather betokened the death of the Queen, than that cruel and bloody war which shortly after happened in Bohemia, and other parts of Germany." Howel also says, in one of his amusing letters,—"Queen Anne is lately dead of a dropsy, which is held to be one of the fatal events that followed the last fearful comet. She

* Camden's Annals, in Kennett, vol. ii. p. 651.

left a world of brave jewels behind; but one Piero, an outlandish man, who had the keeping of them, embezzled many, and is run away. She left all she had to Prince Charles, whom she ever loved best of all her children; nor do I hear of any legacy she left at all to her daughter in Germany."

Peyton details some loathsome particulars respecting the illness which preceded her death. He informs us, that Dr. Upton, who had married his near kinswoman, and who appears to have attended the Queen professionally in her last illness, assured him on his death-bed, that her Majesty was *enceinte*; and that her dissolution was caused by the remedies which she had taken, in order to procure destruction to her unborn infant. The doctor, moreover, expressed his conviction to Peyton, in his last extremity, that his own mortal sickness had been unfairly brought about, in consequence of his having been the depositary of this important secret. The Queen, by other authorities, is stated to have died of the dropsy; a disease which, from its external character, might alone be supposed to have given rise to the scandal above alluded to, had not Peyton stated his authority, and detailed the circumstances with so much colour of truth.

Such are the particulars which we have been enabled to collect, respecting a lady to whom our principal historians have attached but little importance. Rapin says nothing of her character, and Hume dismisses her with remarkable

brevity, as a "woman eminent neither for her vices nor her virtues." Echard, on the contrary, who probably adopted the panegyric of Arthur Wilson, speaks of her in the highest terms: "She died," he says, "to the deep concern of all good men and loyal subjects, leaving behind her the name of a peaceable and dutiful wife, and a virtuous and pious Queen." Little doubt, however, can exist, that this *dutiful wife* and *pious queen*, was a bigoted Papist and a turbulent virago. It is sufficient, that the same writer speaks of James as "a very melancholy widower," when we find the easy monarch publicly enjoying himself at a horse-race, not many days after the breath had departed from the body of his Queen.

One word may fairly be said in favour of Anne of Denmark. She had the taste and the feeling to be a kind friend and sincere admirer of the great Sir Walter Raleigh. The following letter, praying the Duke of Buckingham to intercede for Sir Walter's life, is preserved in the British Museum;* and besides its internal interest, exhibits what slight influence the Queen must have possessed over her husband:

ANNA R.,
MY KIND DOG,†

If I have any power or credit with you, I pray you let me have a triall of it at this time, in deal-

* MS. Additional, 4162, (Birch) Art. 60.

† With this familiar phrase Anne usually commences her

ing sincerely and earnestly with the King, that Sir Walter Raleigh's life may not be called in question. If you do it so that y^e^ success answer my expectation, assure yourself that I will take it extraordinary kindly at your hands, and rest one that wisheth you well, and desires you to continue still, as you have been, a true servant to your master.

To y^e^ Marquiss of
Buckingham.

A few of the Queen's letters to her husband, from the originals in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh, have recently been published. They commonly commence, "My heart," and are generally brief, playful, and common-place.*

Having said so much that is adverse to the Queen's character, it may be right to mention (which we shall do as briefly as possible) the words of those

correspondence with Buckingham. The following letter is curious from the still more familiar manner in which she speaks of her husband.

My kind Dog,

I have received your letter, which is very welcome to me. You do very well in lugging the Sow's ear,† and I thank you for it, and would have you do so still upon condition that you continue a watchful dog to him, and be always true to him. So wishing you all happiness,

Anna R.‡

* Letters to King James the Sixth from his family. Edinburgh, 1835.

† King James. ‡ Ellis, Orig. Letters, vol. iii. p. 101.

writers who have endeavoured to rescue her name from obloquy. Sir Anthony Weldon styles her a "very brave Queen, who never crossed her husband's designs, nor intermeddled with state affairs." Harris says, that though she died without much lamentation from the King, "she was not unbeloved by the people." The praise which Arthur Wilson bestows on her is still higher:—"She was in her great condition a good woman, not tempted from that height she stood on to embroil her spirit much with things below her (as some busy-bodies do), only giving herself content in her own house with such recreations as might not make time tedious to her. And, though great persons' actions are often pried into, and made envy's mark, yet nothing could be fixed upon her that left any great impression, but that she may have engraven upon her monument a character for virtue." These writers, however, because they hated and abused the King, appear to have thought it incumbent upon them to eulogise his Queen. Sir Henry Wotton, who might have been expected to have said more, in his panegyric of King Charles, contents himself with calling her "a lady of a great and masculine mind."* If these encomiums, however, be considered as merely applicable to Anne, during the period she was Queen of England, it is not so easy to controvert them. In a negative point of view, she was neither factious to her husband, nor did she embroil herself with politics; but it was for

* Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 144.

the excellent reason that she was excluded from all access to the one, and all interference with the other. That she was tolerably popular, is not to be wondered at. The public had no reason to lay their grievances to her charge: of restless passions and disappointed ambition they knew nothing: to her inferiors, her manners appear latterly to have been courteous and conciliating; besides, her entertainments were frequent and splendid, and, with the vulgar, magnificence is the sure precursor of popularity.

The Queen's principal residence was at Somerset House, at that period called Denmark House, in honour of the country which gave her birth. Her children were Henry, Prince of Wales; Robert, Margaret and Sophia, who died young; Charles, who succeeded to the throne, and Elizabeth, married to the Elector Palatine. Sophia was born at Greenwich 22nd June 1606, and survived her birth but three days. She was buried near the tomb of Queen Elizabeth, in Henry the VII.'s chapel. Mary was also born at Greenwich. Fuller tells us that no one ever remembered the ceremony of baptism to have been celebrated with so much pomp. James used to say, with more humour than reverence, that he did not pray *to* the Virgin Mary, but *for* the virgin Mary. This princess also died in her infancy, and was buried at Westminster.

# HENRY PRINCE OF WALES.

Character of this Prince — his Birth, and Ceremony of his Christening.—The Earl of Mar appointed to be his Guardian.—Henry's Childhood—Anecdotes of him and his Tutor, Adam Newton. — Henry invested with the Order of the Garter — created Prince of Wales — his early Military Taste.—Interest taken in the young Prince by Henry IV. of France. — Prince Henry's Project of recovering Calais from the French — his Fondness for Naval Affairs. — Pett the Naval Architect and the Prince. — Henry's Amusements.— Instances of his Wit — his Esteem for Sir Walter Raleigh — his magnificent Collection of Books, Medals, Statues, Coins, &c.—his Love for the Society of the Learned — his Court at St. James's Palace—his Admiration of Lady Essex.—Unsuccessful Project of Marriage. — Henry's Zeal for Protestantism—his deep Sense of Religion, and Horror of Swearing.— Anecdote of the Prince and the Earl of Essex. — James's Jealousy of the Prince.—Description of Henry's person— his last Illness and Death. — Prediction of Bruce the Astrologer. — Suspicion that Henry was poisoned. — Horrible Surmise against his Father.—Character of the Prince by Sir C. Cornwallis.

THE darling of his contemporaries; the Marcellus of his age; justly beloved and regretted as one of those princes who have been remarkable for the precocity of their talents and their untimely ends. With a taste for all that adds grace to society, or dignity to human nature; with every quality that might have been expected to form both a great and a good king; uniting a love of literature and science with a chivalrous thirst for military reputation (that graceful com-

bination which formed the brilliant characters of such men as Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Sir Kenelm Digby, and the Admirable Crichton); mingling a Christian temper with a Roman virtue; with all the pleasant characteristics, and none of the irregularities of youth; it is not to be wondered that the historian lingers fondly over the page which records the brief but beautiful career of Henry Prince of Wales.

Prince Henry, the eldest son of James the First and Anne of Denmark, was born at Stirling on the 19th of February 1594. Lord Zouch was deputed by Queen Elizabeth to congratulate the happy parents on the birth of their heir. A brief account of a royal christening, in the sixteenth century, especially as an Archbishop has condescended to detail it, may not be uninteresting. On the day appointed for the ceremony, the infant was brought from its own apartment to the Queen's presence chamber, in which a state bed was prepared for its reception. As soon as the Foreign Ambassadors were arrived, the Countess of Mar, with the assistance of other ladies, took the Prince from his bed, and delivered him to the Duke of Lennox, by whom he was formally presented to the Ambassadors. The procession then marched to the chapel in the following order, and it is not a little amusing to observe the way in which the rude and warlike Scottish nobles were employed on the occasion:— First went Lord Hume, carrying the ducal crown of

Rothsay; then Lord Livingston, bearing the "towel or napkin," Lord Seaton carrying the bason, and Lord Semple the "Laver." Next followed the English Ambassador, the Earl of Sussex, who, as having the place of honour awarded to him, bore the royal baby in his arms. The Prince's train was supported by Lords Sinclair and Urquhart, and above him was a canopy sustained by four Scottish gentlemen of distinction. On the arrival of the procession at the door of the chapel, the King rose from his seat and received the Ambassadors at the entrance of the choir: the infant was then presented to the Duke of Lennox, who delivered him over to the nurse. The Ambassadors having been ceremoniously conducted to the seats which had been prepared for them, "every chair having a tassel board covered with fine velvet," the service was performed by Cunningham, Bishop of Aberdeen. As soon as the ceremony was concluded, the procession returned in the same order to the royal apartments, and the Prince was again laid upon his bed of state. The Lyon herald then proclaimed his titles as follow:—Henry Frederick, Knight and Baron of Renfrew, Lord of the Isles, Earl of Carrick, Duke of Rothsay, Prince and Steward of Scotland. Gold and silver were thrown out of the window among the populace, and at night there was a splendid banquet, at which many knights were created. Plays and tilting were not wanting, and the rejoicings lasted for some days.*

* Spotswood, p. 406.

Henry, at his birth, had been committed to the charge of the Earl of Mar, in whose family was vested the hereditary guardianship of the King's children. The Countess of Mar, who had formerly been the King's nurse, was installed in the same capacity to his son. Whatever may have been James's motives in depriving the Queen of the care of her child, it is certain that she was far from submitting tamely to the loss. She not only attempted every legitimate means to regain possession of the Prince, but endeavoured to tamper with the chancellor and others of the council, in order to effect her object. The dispute excited much ill feeling between the royal parents, and raised the King's anger to the highest pitch. He accordingly wrote the following letter to the Earl of Mar, by which he established him still more firmly in his office of guardian. It sufficiently exhibits the King's irritation, and his total independence of his wife :—

" My Lord of Marre,

" Because in the surety of my son consisteth my surety, and I have concredited unto you the charge of his keeping, upon the trust I have of your honesty, this I command you out of my own mouth, being in the company of those I like, otherwise for any charge or necessity that can come from me, you shall not deliver him ; and in case God call me at any time, see that neither for the Queen, nor estates

their pleasure, you deliver him till he be eighteen years of age, and that he command you himself.

"Striveling, 24th of July 1595."*

The Prince's extraordinary character was early displayed. As a child, he was never seen to weep, and appeared indifferent to pain. On an occasion of his receiving a severe fall from another boy, we are told that he neither "whined nor wept." When little more than five years of age, a son of the Earl of Mar, somewhat younger than himself, fell out with one of the royal pages and "did him wrong." The Prince instantly reproved his playfellow. "I love you," he said, "because you are my lord's son and my cousin; but, if you be not better conditioned, I will love such an one better,"—naming the child whom the culprit had misused.†

His tutor was Adam Newton, a good scholar and a strict disciplinarian, exactly the sort of person James was likely to select. Probably, Newton was not sparing in his chastisements. On one occasion, when the Prince was about to strike the ball, while playing at goff, a stander-by exclaimed, "Beware, Sir, that you do not hit Mr. Newton." The Prince desisted from the stroke, at the same time observing, with a smile, "If I had done so, I had but paid my debts."‡ Another story is related by Mr. D'Israeli, in the Curiosities of Literature, descriptive of the relative position of the Prince and the tutor:

* Spotswood, p. 410. † Birch's Life of Prince Henry, p. 382.
‡ Cur. of Lit. vol. iv.

we must allow him to tell it in his own agreeable manner. "Desirous of cherishing the generous spirit and playful humour of Henry, his tutor encouraged a freedom of jesting with him, which appears to have been carried at times to a degree of momentary irritability on the side of the tutor, by the keen humour of the boy. When Newton, playing at shuffle-board with the Prince, blamed him for changing so often, and, taking up a piece, threw it on the board and missed his aim, the Prince smilingly exclaimed, 'Well thrown, Master;' on which the tutor, a little vexed, said, 'He would not strive with a Prince at shuffle-board.' Henry answered, 'Yet you gownsmen should be best at such exercises which are not meet for men who are more stirring.' The tutor, a little irritated, said, 'I am meet for whipping of boys.' 'You vaunt, then,' retorted the Prince, 'that which a ploughman or cart-driver can do better than you.'—'I can do more,' said the tutor, 'for I can govern foolish children.' On which the Prince, who, in his respect for his tutor, did not care to carry the jest further, rose from table, and, in a low voice to those near him, said, 'He had needs be a wise man who could do that.'"*

In order to stimulate him in his studies, the King one day hinted, that if he did not take more pains, his younger brother Charles would outstrip him in learning. Newton some time afterwards reminding the Prince of his father's remark, Henry

* Cur. of Lit. vol. iv.

asked him if he really thought his brother would prove the superior scholar. The tutor answering, that he had considerable fears on the subject,— "Well, then," said the Prince, with ready wit, "I will make Charles archbishop of Canterbury."

On the 2nd of July, 1603, when only nine years old, he was invested, at a solemn feast of St. George, at Windsor, with the Order of the Garter. His companions in this honour were the Duke of Lennox, and the Earls of Southampton, Mar, and Pembroke. Even at this early age, his "quick, witty answers, princely carriage, and reverend obeisance at the altar," are said to have been the admiration of the by-standers.*

On the 4th of June 1610, he was created Prince of Wales, the King having previously knighted him, without which honour, it seems, he was incapable of sitting at dinner with the sovereign.†

His military taste was early displayed. When asked what musical instrument he most delighted in, his answer was, "a trumpet." The French Ambassador coming one day to take leave of him, inquired if he could deliver any message from him to the King his master? "Tell him," said the young Prince, "the manner in which you see me employed:"—he was amusing himself with practising with the pike.‡

As early as the year 1606, Henry the Fourth of

* Birch's Life, p. 32. † Sanderson, p. 363.
‡ Coke's Detection, vol. i. p. 61.

France appears to have had an insight into, and to have regarded with anxiety, the extraordinary character of his young namesake. The French Ambassador, Antoine le Fevre de la Boderie, had directions to treat him with particular respect,—a remarkable compliment to a boy of twelve years old. The Ambassador writes in a letter to France, "He is a Prince who promises very much, and whose friendship cannot but be one day of advantage." Henry had sent the Dauphin a present of some dogs; the Ambassador recommends in return, that the latter should send over "a suit of armour well gilt and enamelled, together with pistols and a sword of the same kind;" and, he says, "if he add to these a couple of horses, one of which goes well, and the other a barb, it will be a singular favour done to the Prince."*

Henry, young as he was, seems to have entertained a project of retrieving the national credit, by the recovery of Calais from the French. When, in 1607, the Prince de Joinville returned to France, Henry sent over an engineer in his train, who had secret orders to examine all the fortifications of that town, and especially those of Rix-bane. He lost no opportunity of cultivating the acquaintance of the most celebrated officers in Europe, and especially those of Upper and Lower Germany. It was also his custom to walk considerable distances on foot, in order that he might inure himself to long and harassing marches.†

* Birch, p. 70. † Ibid. p. 86. 385. 386.

In naval affairs he took almost an equal interest: it appears, indeed, to have been principally at his instigation, that, in the year 1612, two ships, the Resolution and Discovery, were sent out, with a view to the discovery of a North-west passage to China: the expedition, however, was not the first of its kind. This taste of the Prince enables us to relate an instance of his strong sense of justice and powers of appreciating talent. His love of the sea had made him acquainted with the famous Phineas Pett, so celebrated for his genius in naval architecture. Pett was at one time on the point of being crushed by the envy and rival interests of other competitors in his line. These persons so far attained their object as to bring Pett to an examination, at which the King presided in person, when charges were preferred against him of professional incompetency, and of having made use of inferior materials in the construction of his ships. During this investigation, of which Pett has himself given an account, (which will be found in the Archæologia,) he was compelled to remain the whole time on his knees, and, in this dispiriting posture, to combat the frivolous charges which were brought against him. "I was, at length," he says, "almost disheartened and out of breath, but the Prince's Highness, standing near me, from time to time encouraged me as far as he might without offence to his father, labouring to have me eased by standing up, but the King would not

permit it." When the King, at length, decided in Pett's favour, Henry cried out enthusiastically, "Where are those perjured fellows that dare abuse the King's Majesty with their false accusations? Do not they worthily deserve hanging?" James, alluding to the nature of one of the charges, wittily observed, "that the *cross-grain* appeared to be in the men and not in the timber." Pett shortly after this was employed to build a ship of war, which was called "The Prince" after Henry. The Prince, to show his regard for Pett, and his respect for his talents, carried his fascinating sister, afterwards the Queen of Bohemia, to visit the ingenious shipwright at his humble residence; an honour which appears completely to have gained the hearts of the worthy Pett and his wife.

His amusements were generally of a martial character, but his great delight was in tennis. The pursuits of the English Marcellus are thus described by Mons. de Boderie, in a letter to France dated 31st October, 1606.—"He is a particular lover of horses, and what belongs to them, but is not fond of hunting; and when he goes to it, it is rather for the pleasure of galloping, than that which the dogs give him. He plays willingly enough at tennis, and at another Scot's diversion very like mall; but this always with persons older than himself, as if he despised those of his own age. He studies two hours a day, and employs the rest of his time in tossing the pike or leaping, or shoot-

ing with the bow, or throwing the bar, or vaulting, or some other exercise of that kind, and he is never idle. He shows himself likewise very good-natured to his dependants, and supports their interests against any persons whatever, and pushes what he undertakes for them or others with such zeal as gives success to it. For, besides his exerting his whole strength to compass what he desires, he is already feared by those who have the management of affairs, and especially the Earl of Salisbury, who appears to be greatly apprehensive of the Prince's ascendant; as the Prince, on the other hand, shows little esteem for his lordship."* Henry excelled in dancing, but seldom practised it unless strongly pressed.

His tact was remarkable even when very young. A certain patriotic Welshman, asserting in the King's presence that he could produce 40,000 men in the principality, who were ready to sacrifice their lives for the Prince, against any King in Christendom, James with some jealousy inquired, "To do what?" Henry instantly averted the alarm by answering playfully, "To cut off the heads of 40,000 leeks."† The instances of his wit are not few. A musician having delighted the company with some music which he had composed at the moment, was requested to play it over again. "I could not," said the performer, "for the kingdom of Spain; for this were harder

* Birch, p. 75. † Cur. of Lit. vol. iv.

than for a preacher to repeat word by word a sermon that he had not learned by rote." A clergyman standing by, expressed his opinion that this need not be impossible. "Perhaps not," replied Henry, "*for a bishopric.*"* When a mere child, he happened to be entertained in a nobleman's house in the country, in which parsimony and bad fare were the order of the day. His attendants were loud in their complaints, of which the Prince took no notice at the time. The lady of the mansion, however, happening the next morning to pay him a visit of respect, discovered him amusing himself with a volume containing prints, to one of which he was paying particular attention. It was descriptive of a company seated at a banquet: "Madam," said the young Prince, "I invite you to a feast." "To what feast?" she inquired. "To this feast," replied Henry. "What," said the lady, "would your Highness only invite me to a painted feast?" "No better, Madam," said the Prince, looking significantly into her face, "is to be found in this house."†

He had the greatest esteem for Sir Walter Raleigh; and once observed, alluding to the latter's long imprisonment in the Tower, that "no King but his father would keep such a bird in such a cage."‡ He had a fine taste for the arts, and made a magnificent collection of books, medals, statues, coins, &c.; Evelyn says his cabinet was

* Cur. of Lit. vol. iv. † Ibid. vol. iv.

‡ Coke's Detection, vol. i. p. 61.

superior to any at home, and to the generality abroad: it was lost to the royal family in the civil wars. He knew how to distinguish genius, and courted the society of the learned. Archbishop Williams, shortly after taking orders, happened to preach before the court at Royston. "He acquitted himself so well," says Ambrose Philips, "that his Majesty was pleased to speak much in his commendation; and the Prince, not content to let him go off with hungry praise, looking upon him as an honour to Wales, assured him that he would not be unmindful of his great merits. But he dying untimely, the father bestowed that preferment on him which the son intended."*

He held his court at St. James's Palace, which was set apart for his residence. Here he frequently entertained the young and the brilliant of both sexes, and kept about his person a number of young gentlemen whose spirit and tastes assimilated with his own.† A great proof of his popularity is the manner in which his court was attended. Possessing but little or no political influence, and having but few opportunities of rewarding his friends, his court was nevertheless far more frequented than that of the King himself. So jealous was James of this circumstance, that he once made use of the remarkable words, "Will he bury me alive?"‡ Though pleasure was not

* Life of Lord Keeper Williams, p. 34. † Arthur Wilson, p. 52; Birch, p. 385. ‡ Coke's Detection, vol. i. p. 61.

excluded, his establishment was governed with discretion, modesty, and sobriety, and with an especial reverence for religious duties. It may here be observed that, in 1610, his household amounted to four hundred and twenty-six persons, of whom two hundred and ninety-seven were in the receipt of regular salaries.

We are informed by his faithful follower Sir Charles Cornwallis, that though the most beautiful women of the court and city were invited to his entertainments, yet that he could never discover the slightest inclination on the Prince's part to any particular beauty. He admits, however, the existence of reports that the Prince's heart had not been always unsusceptible. There seems reason indeed to believe that Henry was the unsuccessful rival of Somerset, for the affections of the lovely and profligate Lady Essex. It is stated in the Aulicus Coquinariæ as a "notorious truth," that he made love to the Countess of Essex, "before any other lady living." Arthur Wilson tells us that, thinking to please the Prince, one of the courtiers presented him with Lady Essex's glove, which he had accidentally picked up. The Prince instantly rejected it, observing disdainfully that he "scorned it, since it had been stretched by another." Certainly the young Prince bore Somerset anything but good will. On one occasion* he is said to have either struck, or offered to strike, him with

* Osborne, in Secret History of James I. vol. i. p. 266.

his racket. Essex, however, had been the playfellow of Henry, which might in some degree account for the Prince's enmity towards a man who had so deeply injured his friend by debauching his wife. Still there is a doubt hanging over the Prince's purity in this affair: Sir Symonds D'Ewes states, that the Earl of Northampton, Lady Essex's uncle, incited her to win the Prince's affections, and that he was the first upon whom she bestowed her favours.

There was an intention to marry Prince Henry to the Infanta Major, or eldest daughter of the King of Spain. Sir Charles (afterwards Lord) Cornwallis, was sent to Madrid to negotiate on the subject; but he met with so little encouragement that the project fell to the ground. His MS. account of the treaty, related in a letter to Lord Digby, is preserved in the Harleian collection. The match appears to have been far from agreeable to the Prince, who had the greatest repugnance to allying himself with a Papist.

The Prince's affection, indeed, for the Church of England, was only equalled by his aversion to the Church of Rome; a fact the more remarkable, since his mother had early sought to tamper with his religious principles, and used every means to reconcile him to the Romish persuasion.* Bishop Burnet says he was so zealous a Protestant, that, after the failure of the Spanish match, when James was desirous of marrying him to a Popish princess,

* Birch, p. 45.

(either the archduchess, or a daughter of Savoy,) he wrote a letter to the King, praying him, if it was intended thus to dispose of him, that he might be married to the youngest princess of the two, for he should then have more hopes of her conversion: he requested also that whatever liberties might be allowed her in the exercise of her faith, they should be conducted in the most private manner possible. The original of this letter was shown to the Bishop by Sir William Cook, and was dated less than a month previous to the death of the Prince. His affection for Protestantism was regarded as of such importance, that the Puritans looked upon him as their future saviour, and even discovered his prototype in the Apocalypse; a construction, from whence they argued that he was to become the avenger of Protestantism, and the destroyer of the Romish Church.* According to Harrington, the following indifferent distich was extremely popular at the time—

> Henry the Eighth pulled down the abbeys and cells.
> But Henry the Ninth shall pull down bishops and bells.†

So deep a feeling of religion in one so young, and so attached to the stirring interests of life, is indeed remarkable. He was strict in his attendance at Divine worship, and was accustomed to retire three times a day to his private devotions.‡

* Osborne, in Secret History of James I. vol. i. 364.
† Nugæ Antiquæ, vol. ii. p. 3. ‡ Birch, pp. 85. 320.

Sir Charles Cornwallis says, that had the Prince lived, it was his intention to select one of the most learned and experienced of his chaplains, whose advice he proposed to follow in all matters of conscience.

He had the greatest horror of an oath. Osborne says he never swore himself, nor retained those about him who did. At each of his residences, St. James's, Richmond, and Nonsuch, a box was kept, in which were deposited the fines collected from those members of his household who were heard to swear; the proceeds of which were distributed among the poor.* Coke informs us, that his father used to relate several stories respecting the young Prince. He was once out hunting, when the stag, harassed by the chase, happened to cross a road while a butcher and his dog were passing. The dog killed the stag, but the carcass was too heavy for the butcher to carry off, as he wished to do. The huntsmen coming up endeavoured to incense the Prince against the man. Henry, however, merely observed that it was not the butcher's fault, but the dog's. "If your father had been here," they said, "he would have sworn so, that no man could have endured it." "Away," retorted Henry, "all the pleasure in the world is not worth an oath."

He hated flattery and dissimulation, vanity and ostentation, and regarded with contempt the ephe-

* Birch, p. 85.

meral sycophants of his father's court. He was extremely temperate and abstemious, except in the "article of fruit," in which, according to Birch, he liked to indulge. His temper is stated by his biographers, to have been almost always mild and even. It appears, however, to have been more than once ruffled in the excitement of his favourite game of tennis.

An instance of the Prince falling out with Somerset at this pastime has already been alluded to: Codrington, in his life of Robert Earl of Essex, the Prince's early companion, mentions another occasion of his warmth of temper, under similar circumstances. Henry and the young Earl were amusing themselves in the tennis-court, when a dispute took place on some point in the game: Essex persisting on his rights, the Prince at last grew so angry as to call the Earl the son of a traitor, alluding to the catastrophe of his father, the spoilt victim of Elizabeth. Essex, growing furious in his turn, struck the Prince on the head with his racket so severely as to draw blood. The King sent for the Earl; but, on being acquainted with the real circumstances of the affair, dismissed him unpunished. James told the Prince, that the boy who had just struck him would not hereafter be remiss in striking his enemies. Essex afterwards grew to be the famous parliamentary general.

The Prince's rapid progress in his studies, his

military genius, and extreme popularity with all ranks of people, excited a painful feeling of jealousy in the mind of his father.* So deep indeed was the prejudice, that it appears to have destroyed all natural affection for his offspring. Burnet says, the Prince was rather feared than loved by his father. Once, on the downs at Newmarket, when James and his son had bidden one another farewell, in order to retire to their respective homes, it was remarkable that all the principal persons followed the Prince, leaving the King almost entirely to be escorted by servants. Archee, the court fool, with an ill-timed joke, pointed out the circumstance to his master; at which the King is said to have been so much affected as to shed tears. Archee, however, for his officiousness, was, for some time afterwards, tossed in a blanket wherever he could be met with: by which party the punishment was inflicted does not appear, but in all probability by the Prince's. The King, observes Osborne, was much annoyed to find that all the worth which he had imagined to belong to himself, was wholly lost in the hopes which the people entertained of his son.

The Prince's person is minutely described by Sir Charles Cornwallis: "He was of a comely, tall, middle stature, about five feet and eight inches high, of a strong, straight, well-made body, with somewhat broad shoulders, and a small waist,

* Wilson. p. 52: Birch, p. 75.

of an amiable majestic countenance, his hair of an auburn colour, long faced, and broad forehead, a piercing grave eye, a most gracious smile, with a terrible frown." His face was supposed to bear a resemblance to that of Henry the Fifth. Ben Jonson took advantage of the flattering compliment which this circumstance enabled him to pay to the Prince, on the occasion of a pageant presented before the King on his progress through London in 1603. The prophet Merlin, after recounting the heroic deeds of his kingly ancestors, thus alludes to the Prince's resemblance to the hero of Agincourt.

> Yet rests the other thunderbolt of war,
> Harry the Fifth, to whom in face you are
> So like, as Fate would have you so in worth.

Prince Henry's career was destined to be as brief as it was brilliant. He died on the 6th of November 1612, after a long illness, which he bore with exemplary piety and resignation. He had frequently expressed his indifference about death, and regarded length of days as an unenviable boon: "It was to small purpose," he said, "for a brave gallant man, when the prime of his days were over, to live till he were full of diseases."* In the Aulicus Coquinariæ, there is an interesting account of the progress of his last illness:—"In the nineteenth year of his age, appeared the first

* Birch, p. 387.

symptoms of change, from a full round face and pleasant disposition, to be paler and sharper, more sad and retired; often complaining of a giddy heaviness in his forehead, which was somewhat eased by bleeding at the nose; and that suddenly stopping, was the first of his distemper, and brought him to extraordinary qualms, which his physicians recovered with strong waters.

"About this time, several ambassadors extraordinary being despatched home, he retired to his house at Richmond, pleasantly seated by the Thames river, which invited him to learn to swim in the evenings after a full supper, the first immediate pernicious cause of stopping that gentle flux of blood, which thereby putrefying, might engender that fatal fever that accompanied him to his grave. His active body used violent exercises; for at this time being to meet the King at Bever in Nottinghamshire, he rode it in two days, near a hundred miles, in the extremity of heat in summer; for he set out early, and came to Sir Oliver Cromwell's, near Huntingdon, by ten o'clock before noon, near sixty miles, and the next day betimes to Bever, forty miles."

"There, and at other places, in all that progress, he accustomed himself to feasting, hunting, and other sports of balloon and tennis, with too much violence.

"And now returned to Richmond in the fall of the leaf, he complained afresh of his pain in

the head, with increase of a meagre complexion, inclining to feverish; and then for the rareness thereof called the new disease; which increasing, the 10th of October he took his chamber, and took counsel with his physician, Doctor Hammond, an honest and worthy learned man. Then removes to London to St. James's, contrary to all advice; and (with a spirit above indisposition) gives leave to his physician to go to his own home.

"And so allows himself too much liberty, in accompanying the Palsgrave, and Count Henry of Nassau (who was come hither upon fame to see him), in a great match at tennis in his shirt, that winter season, his looks then presaging sickness. And on Sunday the 25th of October, he heard a sermon, the text in Job, 'Man that is born of a woman, is of short continuance, and is full of trouble.' After that he presently went to Whitehall, and heard another sermon before the King, and after dinner, being ill, craves leave to retire to his own court, where instantly he fell into sudden sickness, faintings, and after that a shaking, with great heat and headach, that left him not whilst he had life."

The Archbishop of Canterbury and Doctor Melborn, Dean of Rochester, constantly attended at his bed-side, and prayed with him during his illness. Cornwallis says, that "he bore his sickness with patience, and as often recognition of his faith,

his hopes, and his appeals to God's mercy, as his infirmity, which afflicted him altogether in his head, would possibly permit." He died at St. James's at the age of eighteen years, eight months, and seventeen days. His body, having been embalmed, was interred in Westminster Abbey.

His death had been foretold by Bruce, an eminent astrologer of the period, who, however, at the instigation of the Earl of Salisbury, was banished for his discrimination. Before quitting England, the astrologer sent to Salisbury, assuring him that his words would prove but too true, though the Earl himself would not live to see it. His prediction turned out correct. The Prince died in November, six months after Salisbury's dissolution.* To falsify this story, it has been argued that Bruce retired voluntarily abroad; and also, (supposing the prediction to have been really made), that it required no great prophetical powers to calculate that the Earl's shattered frame would in all probability yield to the Prince's youth, and, apparently, vigorous constitution.†

The untimely deaths of promising young princes are frequently attributed to unfair means, and Prince Henry's, among the number, is said to have been occasioned by poison. Certainly the suspicion was more than whispered at the time. One of his chaplains actually preached a sermon at St. James's

* Weldon, p. 78.

† Aulicus Coquin. in Secr. Hist. of James I. vol. ii. p. 252.

(which was afterwards printed), wherein he alluded so openly and feelingly to the manner in which the young Prince was cut off, as to melt his congregation into tears, and to procure his own dismissal from court.* Arthur Wilson says, there were strange rumours at the time, some attributing the Prince's decease to poisoned grapes, and others to a pair of gloves which had been similarly tampered with.† When Henry was dying, Sir Walter Raleigh sent him a cordial from the Tower, which he said would infallibly cure him unless his malady were the effect of poison. The Prince took the cordial, but not recovering, the Queen is said to have laid so much stress on Sir Walter's proviso, as to have believed to the last that her son had met with foul play.‡ It has been suspected that John Holles, Earl of Clare, Comptroller of the Prince's household, was the depository of some important secret, relative to the death of his young master. His sudden emancipation from a prison to a peerage appears to have given rise to this notion, besides the undue importance which was attached to some lines written in the Earl's pocket-book, beginning,—

> Actæon once Diana naked spied
> All unawares, yet by his dogs he died.§

Supposing, however, that the argument in favour of Henry's being poisoned is at all tenable, the

* Kennett's Complete History, vol. ii. p. 689, note.
† Wilson, p. 63. See Coke's Detection, vol. i. p. 61.
‡ Birch, p. 357. § Walpole's Work, vol. i. p. 667.

individual on whom we should naturally be inclined to fix the guilt is undoubtedly Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, afterwards a convicted murderer in the case of Overbury, a man openly held in contempt and dislike by the Prince, and whose utter ruin was sure to follow, in the event of Henry's succession to the throne: besides these circumstances there existed the well-known rivalship for the affections of Lady Essex. Burnet says: "Colonel Titus assured me that he had from King Charles the First's own mouth, that he was well assured Prince Henry was poisoned by the Earl of Somerset's means." Lord Chief Justice Coke hinted openly in court, that Overbury was made away with to prevent a discovery of Somerset's share in the Prince's death; an imprudence which lost Coke the King's favour, and eventually his place.* Wilson and other writers also allude to the dark suspicions which were entertained of Somerset's guilt.

There has existed another horrible surmise, that the son's life was cut short by the jealousy of the father. Hume says,—"the bold and criminal malignity of men's tongues and pens spared not even

* Kennett, vol. ii. p. 689, note. Lord Dartmouth, in a note on the anecdote of Bishop Burnet above quoted, makes the following remark. "If he was poisoned by the Earl of Somerset, it was not upon the account of religion, but for making love to the Countess of Essex; and that was what the Lord Chief Justice meant, when he said at Somerset's trial, 'God knows what went with the good Prince Henry, but I have heard something.'"—*Burnet*, vol. i. p. 19.

the King on the occasion." Arthur Wilson openly hints his suspicions, though, with affected and ingenious delicacy, he talks of them as a subject for his *fears*, and not for his *pen*. Rapin very properly remarks, in noticing this unnatural aspersion, that the proofs should be "as clear as the sun," before they are accepted as evidence.

With reference to the general question as to the manner of the Prince's death, it is right to add, that the physicians who attended him during his illness, and who examined his body after his decease, gave it as their unanimous opinion that he was *not poisoned;* and Sir Charles Cornwallis expresses his opinion that the rumours to a contrary effect were without foundation. Bishop Goodman, in his Memoirs, has an interesting passage on the subject:— "That Prince Henry," he says, "died not without vehement suspicion of poison, this I can say in my own knowledge. The King's custom was to make an end of his hunting at his house in Havering, in Essex, either at the beginning or in the middle of September. Prince Henry did then accompany him. I was beneficed in the next parish, at Stapleford Abbots. Many of our brethren, the neighbour ministers, came to hear the sermon before the King, and some of us did say, looking upon Prince Henry, and finding that his countenance was not so cheerful as it was wont to be, but had heavy darkish looks, with a kind of mixture of melancholy and choler,— some of us did then say, that certainly he had some

great distemper in his body, which we thought might proceed from eating of raw fruit, peaches, musk-melons, &c. A while after we heard that he was sick, his physicians about him, none of his servants forbidden to come to him; he spake to them when he knew he was past hopes of life; he had no suspicion himself of poison; he blamed no man; he made a comfortable end, and when he was opened, as I heard, there were found in his stomach some remnants of grapes which were not digested. The chirurgeons and physicians found no sign or likelihood of poison." The physicians, in support of their opinion, drew up on paper the result of their *post-mortem* examination, in which they minutely described the appearance of the Prince's body. It has, however, justly been remarked, that though this medical detail gives no reason to believe that poison was administered, yet that it affords no direct proof to the contrary."*

What probably threw so painful a suspicion upon the King, was the command he gave, that the Christmas festivities should proceed as usual: moroever, he issued an indecent order that no mourning should be worn for his deceased son.† It has been attempted to disprove this fact, by asserting that, at the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth, which shortly followed, both the King and

* Echard, vol. i. p. 993; Rapin, vol. ii. p. 181, note.

† Wilson, p. 63.

his daughter were dressed in black.* We do not know what may have been the King's costume on the occasion, but Sir James Finett, a nice observer, and master of the ceremonies to the court, distinctly says, that the Princess was "apparelled in white," and, moreover, alludes to the splendid jewels that were worn by the King himself.† A similar order had been issued by James at the demise of Queen Elizabeth. Sully, the French Ambassador to England, informs us that, after having been at the expense of providing mourning habits for his suite, he was compelled to change their apparel, in order that he might not mortally offend James,—and yet his mission was principally that of condolence.

We may conclude the memoirs of this extraordinary young Prince with the character drawn of him by his treasurer, and affectionate follower, Sir Charles Cornwallis:‡—"He was courteous, loving,

* See Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 12. Wilson (p. 64), informs us also that her bridal apparel was of white. Since writing the above I have discovered that at the ceremony of the Princess being *affianced* to the Palatine, they were both clothed in black.—*Ellis's Orig. Letters*, vol. iii. p. 110. Perhaps we may argue from this circumstance that the King's order did not extend to his own family.

† Finetti Philoxenis, p. 10, 11.

‡ Dr. Lingard, in his estimate of Prince Henry's character, is certainly unfair, and, I believe, incorrect. "The young Prince, faithful to the lessons which he had formerly received from his mother, openly ridiculed the foibles of his father, and boasted of the conduct which he would pursue, when he should succeed to the throne. In the dreams of his fancy he was

and affable, his favour, like the sun, indifferently seeming to shine upon all; naturally shame-faced and modest, most patient, which he showed both in life and death. Quick he was to conceive anything; not rash, but mature in deliberation, and constant having resolved. True of his promise, most secret even from his youth, so that he might have been trusted in anything that did not force a discovery, being of a close disposition, not too easy to be known, or pried into; of a fearless, noble, heroic, and undaunted courage, thinking nothing impossible that ever was done by any. He was ardent in his love to religion. He made conscience of an

already another Henry V, and the conqueror of his hereditary kingdom of France. To those who were discontented with the father, the abilities and virtues of the son became the theme of the most hyperbolical praise; the zealots looked on him as the destined reformer of the English church; some could even point out the passage in the Apocalypse which reserved for him the glorious task of expelling Antichrist from the Papal chair. With the several matches prepared for him by his father, it were idle to detain the reader; his marriage, as well as his temporal and spiritual conquests, was anticipated by an untimely death, which some writers have attributed to poison, some to debauchery, and others, with greater probability, to his own turbulence and obstinacy. In the pursuit of amusement he disregarded all advice. He was accustomed to bathe for a long time together after supper, to expose himself to the most stormy weather, and to take violent exercise during the greatest heats of summer," &c. The vein of sarcasm which runs through this passage, and the impression it was intended to leave, are too apparent to require any comment. In the present instance, however, the idolized champion of Protestantism could scarcely expect to be a favourite.

oath, and was never heard to take God's name in vain. He hated Popery, though he was not unkind to the persons of Papists. He lived and died mightily, striving to do somewhat of everything, and to excel in the most excellent. He greatly delighted in all rare inventions and arts, and in all kinds of engines belonging to the wars, both by sea and land. In the bravery and number of great horses; in shooting and levelling of great pieces of ordnance; in the ordering and marshalling of arms; in building and gardening, and in all sorts of rare music, chiefly the trumpet and drum; in limning and painting, carving, and in all sorts of excellent and rare pictures which he had brought unto him from all countries." *

A contemporary versifier† thus celebrates the loss of Prince Henry.

Lo, where he shineth yonder
A fixed star in Heaven,
Whose motion here came under
None of the Planets seven.
If that the Moon should tender
The Sun her love, and marry,
They both could not engender
So sweet a star as Harry.

It has been argued, from the Prince's martial tastes and ardour for military fame, that to

* Harl. Misc. vol. iii. p. 519.

† Hugh Hollande, of Trinity College, Cambridge. The verses, such as they are, are preserved among the Lansdowne MSS.

whatever height he might have raised the glory of his country, it was unlikely he would have added to its happiness. Surely, however, there was an innate rectitude of purpose, by which, in after years, the irregularities of the head would have been made subservient to the qualities of the heart.

# ELIZABETH QUEEN OF BOHEMIA.

Character of this Princess.—Attachment between her and her Brother, Prince Henry.—Juvenile Letters to King James.—Marriage of the Princess to Frederick, Count Palatine of the Rhine.—Magnificent Presents from the Palatine.—Splendour and Costliness of the Marriage Ceremony.—Appearance of the Bride.—Departure from England of the Royal Couple.—Letter to the Lord Mayor from Elizabeth—her Misfortunes, and Conduct under them.—Enthusiasm excited in England by her Distress.—Verses addressed to her by Sir Henry Wotton.—Poetry by Elizabeth.—Death of her Husband.—The Earl of Craven's Affection for Elizabeth—her Return to her native Country soon after the Restoration.—Letter from Elizabeth to Lord Finch—her Death, and Legacy to Lord Craven.—Biographical Sketch of that Nobleman, the presumed Husband of Elizabeth.

THE Queen of Bohemia appears to have merited all the encomium, the admiration, and the romantic interest, with which her contemporaries regarded her. Few women, indeed, have been gifted in a greater degree with all that is considered most lovely in the female character. Lively in her manners, affectionate in her disposition, and beautiful in her person; throwing a charm and a refinement over the social intercourse of life; she

yet possessed, with all these qualities, a strength of mind which never became masculine; talents which were never obtrusive, and a warmth of heart which remained with her to the end. Forced from the lap of luxury and the splendours of a court, to become a wanderer, and almost a beggar, on the earth, though bowed down by the blasts of misfortune, she bent meekly and submissively to the storm. In prosperity modest and unassuming; in adversity surmounting difficulties and dignifying poverty, her character was regarded with enthusiasm in her own time, and has won for her the admiration of posterity.

Elizabeth, the only surviving daughter of James the First and his Queen, was born at the Palace of Falkland, in Scotland, on the 19th of August 1596. Till her seventh year she had been successively under the care of Lord Livingston and the Countess of Kildare. In 1603 she was transferred to the charge of John the first Lord Harrington, and his lady, two of the most amiable and respectable characters at the court of James. With the incidents of her childhood we are little acquainted; there seems, however, to have existed the strongest attachment between her and her amiable brother Prince Henry; and, indeed, their tastes and characters were not very dissimilar. When removed from his society to be placed under Lord Harrington's roof, the little Princess sent to her brother the following brief but eloquent epistle:—

MY DEAR AND WORTHY BROTHER,

I most kindly salute you, desiring to hear of your health; from whom, though I am now far away, none shall ever be nearer in affection than your most loving sister, ELIZABETH.*

There is extant another charming letter, addressed by the young Princess to her brother, which it is impossible not to insert.

WORTHY PRINCE AND MY DEAREST BROTHER,

I received your most welcome letter and kind token by Mr. Hopkins, highly esteeming them as delightful memorials of your brotherly love. In which, assuredly (whatsoever else may fail), I will ever endeavour to equal you, esteeming that time happiest when I enjoyed your company, and desiring nothing more than the fruition of it again; that as nature hath made us nearest in our love together, so accident might not separate us from living together. Neither do I account it the least part of my present comfort, that though I am deprived of your happy presence, yet I can make these lines deliver this true message, that I will ever be during my life your most kind and loving sister, ELIZABETH.†

To my most dear brother the Prince.

Among the original letters to King James from his family, preserved in the Advocate's Library in

* Benger's Life of the Queen of Bohemia, vol. i. p. 67.

† Ellis, Orig. Letters, vol. iii. p. 90.

Edinburgh, are several in French, Italian and English from the Princess to her father. James seems to have taken a considerable pleasure in receiving these juvenile compositions from his children; and it was probably owing to her knowledge of this taste that we find several letters from the Princess's own children, after she had become Queen of Bohemia, preserved in this collection, and affectionately addressed to their royal grandsire. One childish epistle from her son, Frederick Henry, is amusing enough to record:—

S^r^,

I kiss your hand. I would fain see yo^r^ Ma^tie^. I can say nominativus hic, hæc, hoc, and all five declensions, and a part of pronomen, and a part of verbum. I have two horses alive, that can go up my stairs, a black horse and a chesnut. I pray God to bless your Ma^tie^.

Yo^r^ Ma^ties^ obedient grand-child,

FREDERICK HENRY.*

To the King.

On the 16th of October 1612 arrived in England, for the purpose of seeking the Princess in marriage, Frederick the Fifth, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria and Silesia, and Elector, cup-bearer, and High-steward of the Empire; a man of a handsome, though melancholy countenance, and weak, good-natured, and penurious in

* Letters to King James VI. from his Family. Edinburgh, 1835.

his character; as unworthy of such a wife as James was of such a daughter.

Queen Anne, probably on account of the Palatine's being a Protestant, was extremely averse to the match,* and endeavoured, by ridiculing him and his pretensions, to laugh her daughter out of the partiality which she had conceived. Coke says, "she used contemptuously to style the Princess—'Goodwife Palsgrave.'—'I would rather,' retorted the Princess, 'be the Palsgrave's wife, than the greatest Papist Queen in Christendom.'" †

Frederick was affianced to his future bride, on the 27th of December, 1612, in the banqueting-house at Whitehall, and in the presence of the King, seated in state, and of the assembled court. The Palsgrave was first led in, attended by Prince Charles and several of the nobility, and clad in a black velvet cloak adorned with gold lace. Then followed the Princess, in a black velvet gown, "semé of crosslets, or quaterfoiles, silver; and a small white feather in her head, attended with ladies." Shortly after entered the King, who being seated under the canopy of state, the Palsgrave and the Princess stepped forward, and stood together on a rich Turkey carpet which had been prepared for the purpose. Sir Thomas Lake then read formally in French, from the book of common prayer,—"I, Frederick, take thee Elizabeth to my wedded wife,"

* Winwood, Memorials, vol. iii. p. 421.
† Coke, vol. i. p. 64.

&c.; which was repeated *verbatim* by the Palsgrave. The same form having been gone through by the Princess, the Archbishop of Canterbury pronounced the benediction:—"The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, bless these espousals, and thy servants," &c.* It is a remarkable circumstance that this marriage was asked by the publication of banns in the Chapel Royal.†

The Palsgrave, at this period, appears to have distinguished himself by a liberality for which he was afterwards far from being celebrated. Mr. Chamberlain writes to Sir Ralf Winwood, 9th January, 1612:—"The Prince Palatine (for so he is now styled, and since this contract is usually prayed for in the Church among the King's children) was very royal in his presents this new-year's-tide, giving to the Lord and Lady Harrington in golden and gilt plate to the value of 2000*l.*; to their servants 400*l.*; to all the women about the Lady Elizabeth, 100*l.* a piece, and a medalia with his picture; to her waiters as much, and to her chief gentleman usher a chain of 150*l.*; to Mrs. Dudley a chain of pearls and diamonds of 500*l.*; to the Prince a rapier and pair of spurs set with diamonds; to the King a bottle of one entire agate, containing two quarts, esteemed a very rare and rich jewel; to the Queen a very fair cup of agate and a jewel; and lastly, to his mistress, a rich chain of diamonds, two

* Harl. MSS. 5176, in Ellis's Orig. Letters, vol. iii. p. 110.
† Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 431.

very rich pendant diamonds for her ears; and above all, two pearls, for bigness, fashion, and beauty, esteemed the fairest that are to be found in Christendom; insomuch that the jewels bestowed only on her are valued by men of skill above 35,000*l.* He was purposed to show the like bounty to the King and Queen's servants and officers, but the King directly forbad it. The Queen is noted to have given no great grace nor favour to this match; and there is doubt will do less hereafter, for that upon these things Schomberg (that is chief about him) is said to have given out that his master is a better man than the King of Denmark; and that he is to take place of him in the empire, at leastwise of a greater King than he, the King of Bohemia. The marriage is set down for Shrove-Sunday, against which time, it is said, the Lords and Ladies about the Court have appointed a mask upon their own charge: but I hear there is order given for 1500*l.* to provide one upon the King's cost, and a 1000*l.* for fire-works."*

The marriage ceremony was finally performed in the banqueting house at Whitehall on the 14th of February 1613, and appears to have been really magnificent.† The heart of the good Sir John

* Winwood, vol. iii. p. 421.

† It is said in a letter of the time,—"the Lady Wotton was reported to have a gown that cost fifty pound the yard the embroidering; and the Lord Montague bestowed fifteen hundred pound in apparel upon his two daughters.—*Winwood's Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 434.

Finett, the master of the ceremonies, evidently warms, as he describes minutely the gorgeous dresses, and the "draughts of Ippocras out of a great golden bowl." "The bravery," he adds, "and riches of that day were incomparable; gold and silver laid upon lords', ladies', and gentlewomen's backs, was the poorest burthen: pearls and costly embroideries being the commonest wear. The King's and Queen's and Prince's jewels only, were valued that day by his Majesty himself at nine hundred thousand pounds sterling."*

* Finetti Philoxenis, p. 11. The marriage of his daughter must have cost the King nearly a hundred thousand pounds. The following are given by Rapin as the items:—

| | |
|---|---|
| For the Palsgrave's diet at his standing house, | £6000 |
| For his diet at his instalment of the garter, | 4000 |
| For diet at his marriage, | 2000 |
| For lodging for his servants, | 830 |
| To the Wardrobe for apparel for the Princess Elizabeth, | 6252 |
| For furnishing her chamber, | 3023 |
| Apparel and necessaries for her to my Lord Harrington's, | 1829 |
| Jewels and apparels for her servants, | 3914 |
| For divers merchants for silk, &c. | 995 |
| The Lords' Mask at her marriage, | 400 |
| For the naval work of fireworks on the Thames at her marriage, | 4800 |
| More fireworks on the Thames at her marriage, | 2880 |
| To Sir Edward Cecil as Treasurer, for her journey from hence to Heidelbergh, and for her purse, | 2000 |
| For settling her jointure, and charges to some of the gentry to go thither, and to take the assurance, | 800 |
| The charges of her journey, | 8000 |
| For her transport to Flushing, | 5555 |
| Paid over to the Palsgrave's agent for her portion, | 40,000 |
| Total, | £93,278 |

The appearance of the bride has been minutely and fondly described by more than one writer of the period. She was arrayed in white, the emblem of innocence; her long hair, as the ornament of virginity, falling in full length down her back. On her head was a crown of pure gold, ornamented with pearls and diamonds; and supporting her train were twelve young ladies, also clothed in white, and so adorned with jewels, that we are told *her passage looked like a milky way.* During her progress to the chapel royal, she was supported by two single men, her brother, Prince Charles, on the right, and the Earl of Northampton on the left. On her return, she was escorted by two married noblemen, the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Nottingham. The marriage ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury.*

They took leave of the King and Queen at Rochester, in the middle of April, and, attended by several of the nobility of both sexes, arrived at Flushing on the 27th of that month, from whence they passed in considerable magnificence to Heidelberg. The Elector seems to have parted, not in the best humour, with his father-in-law. At the instigation of his uncle, the Duke de Bouillon, he had solicited the enlargement of Lord Grey from the Tower. The King, apparently far from pleased, declined complying with his request. He told him that when *he* came to Germany, the Elector

* Wilson, p. 64; Finetti Philoxenis, p. 10.

might depend on his not interceding for any of his prisoners. The Palsgrave complained to the Archbishop of Canterbury, that, instead of treating him as his son-in-law, the King "used him rather like a youngling, or childish youth, not to be regarded.*

James, it seems, was anxious that his son-in-law should receive an academical entertainment from the University of Cambridge, and accordingly we find them surfeiting him for a considerable period with pedantry, yet not without respect.†

However unimportant in other respects, as a further illustration of the amiable character of Elizabeth, it may not be uninteresting to insert the following letter. It was addressed by her, on the eve of her quitting England, to the Lord Mayor and Wardens of the Merchant Tailors' Company, and shows how warmly she could interest herself in favour of an old retainer :—

My Lord,

I have not been forward to wring you with requests. As this is the first, so is it likely to be the last, especially in this kind.

That which I am to move you and your company for is this: I am given to understand that the cook belonging to your hall, being an old man, is not so well able as he hath been to do you service, but, by reason of his impotency, driven to commit

* Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 454.

† Philips's Life of Lord Keeper Williams, p. 34.

the same to another: in regard whereof, for that I have known the bearer hereof, John Warde, to be sufficient for the operation of such a place, having had experience of his honesty and discreet consideration, doing me service in the house where I have lived since my coming into England, I am willing to commend him unto you for the cook of your hall, to be accepted when that old man shall leave his place by death, or otherwise resign it. I presume my letter shall carry that respect with your lordship that to enlarge it with more inducements shall be needless. If I may hear before I leave this place, that John Warde doth rest assured of your favours in this behalf, it shall settle an affection in me to continue your friend,

ELIZABETH.*

The manner in which the Palsgrave eventually plunged his subjects in war, and risked his patrimonial dominions, for the sake of the mere empty title of King;—the circumstances under which his electorial title was transferred to the dukedom of Bavaria, and he himself became an expatriated wanderer, and a pensioner upon England, are too minutely detailed in history to require repetition.

These were the circumstances, however, which exhibited in a stronger light the more brilliant qualities of Elizabeth's character. When Count Thurm gallantly offered to prolong the defence of the citadel of Prague till she had reached a place of safety;

* Ellis's Orig. Letters, vol. iii. p. 232. Second Series.

"Never, was her reply, shall there be more devastation than is necessary for my sake: sooner would I die where I am, than be remembered by a curse." Nothing could exceed the unrepining dignity with which she bore her misfortunes, and few have been more afflicted. Kirkton, in his History of the Church of Scotland, speaks of her existence as the "most unhappy of any woman in the world." She had been driven from her husband's kingdom, and from the splendours and comforts to which she had been born, into exile and positive want. Neal dwells on her "starving condition," and she is even spoken of as "reduced to the utmost beggary," and as "wandering frequently in disguise as a mere vagrant."* In one year she lost her father, who was also her benefactor, and her eldest son, Frederick; the latter by a miserable end. He was crossing Haerlem-Mere with his father, in the common passage boat, (the penurious Palsgrave having selected that conveyance in order to save a small sum,) when the vessel, which was overladen with goods, unfortunately overset. The Palsgrave saved himself by swimming, but the young Prince, clinging to the mast, became entangled in the rigging, and the next morning was found half drowned, half frozen to death.† With the vulgar-minded, to be poor is to be contemptible. At Antwerp, in the true spirit of vulgarity, the most illustrious woman

* Hist. of the Puritans; Curiosities of Literature.

† Howell's Letters, p. 188.

of her time was depicted as an Irish beggar, a child hanging behind her back, and the King, her father, carrying her cradle.*

Still, however, there were those who were able to appreciate merit and feel for misfortune. In the Low Countries she was so beloved as to be styled "the Queen of Hearts." In England she was not forgotten. There was the strongest feeling in favour of this unfortunate Princess, and an ardent anxiety that James would take an active and decided part to procure the restitution of the Palatinate. The forlorn situation of a Princess of England was regarded as a national disgrace; and mingling their anxiety for the Protestant interests with their ardour in her cause, the people of England would have poured forth to a war with the empire as they would have gathered to a crusade. The following extract from a letter of the period will afford some idea of the enthusiasm which was excited by her character and distress:—"The lieutenant of the Middle Temple played a game this Christmas time, whereat his Majesty was highly displeased. He made choice of the civillest and best-fashioned gentlemen of the house to sup with him; and being at supper, took a cup of wine in one hand, and held his sword drawn in the other, and so began a health to the distressed Lady Elizabeth, and having drunk, kissed the sword, and laying his hand upon it, took

* Wilson, p. 192; Sir W. Raleigh's Ghost in Phœnix Britannicus, p. 323.

an oath to live and die in her service; then delivered the cup and sword to the next, and so the health and ceremony went round.*

One of Elizabeth's most ardent admirers was the famous Sir Henry Wotton. The following exquisite verses are the more remarkable, as being written by a man whose fame rested so little on his poetical talent: they are addressed—"To his mistress, the Queen of Bohemia."

You meaner beauties of the night,
That poorly satisfy our eyes,
More by your number than your light;
You *common-people* of the skies,
What are you when the sun shall rise?

You curious chanters of the wood,
That warble forth Dame Nature's lays,
Thinking your voices understood
By your weak accents; what 's your praise
When Philomel her voice shall raise?

You violets that first appear,
By your pure purple mantles known,
Like the proud virgins of the year,
As if the spring were all your own,
What are you when the rose is blown?

So, when my mistress shall be seen,
In form and beauty of her mind,
By virtue first, then choice a queen;
Tell me if *she* were not design'd
The eclipse and glory of her kind.†

* Mr. Joseph Meade to Sir Martin Stuteville.—Harl. MSS. p. 389; Ellis's Orig. Letters, vol. iii. p. 118.

† Reliquæ Wottonianæ, p. 379. There are other versions

Elizabeth was herself a poetess, and is known to have been the author of a copy of verses, which will be found both in the Nugæ Antiquæ and Park's Noble Authors. The sentiments are those of an amiable and a graceful mind, and though the versification is indifferent, the whole is at least equal as a composition to any of the poetical effusions of her pedantic father. The three concluding stanzas have the most merit, and may be taken as a specimen of her muse.

O! my soul, of heavenly birth,
Do thou scorn this basest earth;
Place not here thy joy and mirth,
Where of bliss is greatest dearth.

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of this beautiful trifle, but the discrepancies are not material. It may be remarked, however, that Dr. Wright, in the Parnassus Biceps, inserts two additional stanzas, as the first and concluding one, of which the merit is indifferent and the authenticity doubtful. The disputed stanzas are as follow:—

Ye glorious trifles of the East,
Whose estimation fancies raise,
Pearls, rubies, sapphires, and the rest
Of precious gems; what is your praise
When as the diamond shows his rays?

The rose, the violet, and the whole spring
May to her breath for sweetness run;
The diamond 's darkened in the ring,
When she appears the moon 's undone,
As at the brightness of the sun.

See Walton's Lives: London, 1825, p. 472, note.

From below thy mind remove,
And affect the things above;
Set thy heart and fix thy love
Where the truest joys shall prove.

To me grace, O Father! send,
On thee wholly to depend,
That all may to thy glory tend;
So let me live, so let me end.

The Elector Palatine died of a fever, while in exile at Mentz, November 29, 1632. From this period Elizabeth resided principally at the Hague, where she was eventually joined by the royal family of England, when the civil commotions had banished them from their country. Her adviser and supporter during her widowhood was William, the first Earl of Craven, who carefully watched over her affairs, and regarded her with an affection which almost amounted to enthusiasm. The world believed that they were married, and the suspicion appears to have been not unfounded. At all events, she could not have united herself to a kinder, a braver, or a better man.

Shortly after the Restoration she accepted an invitation from her nephew, Charles the Second, and returned to her native country on the 17th of May, 1661. She first took up her residence in Lord Craven's house in Drury Lane, an interesting mansion only recently demolished,* whence she re-

* It had formerly been called Drury House, having been the residence of the ancient family of the Druries, and was famous as the spot where the adherents of the ill-fated Essex plot-

moved on the 8th of February, 1662, to Leicester House, where she died only five days afterwards, February 13, 1662, in the sixty-sixth year of her age. Osborne, no great respecter of princes, has given her character in the brightest colours. He tells us that her misfortunes were as singular evidences of the instability of fortune, as in prosperity she had herself afforded of civility and goodness." He informs us also that her conduct was so blameless throughout, that even the Papists were at a loss where to search for blame. That character must be indeed exemplary, on which political, and even religious, rancour is unable to fix reproach.

Elizabeth delighted in the society of learned men, among whom we are pleased to find Sir Henry Wotton her friend, and Francis Quarles her cup-bearer. Indeed, the gallant Provost of Eton is all enthusiasm when he speaks of her. He

ted against Queen Elizabeth. The house was rebuilt by Lord Craven. Pennant tells us that in searching after it, he discovered a sign, the head of the Queen of Bohemia, "his admired mistress," which proved its identity. In Pennant's time it was an inn. The same writer remarks on the following curious coincidence: "It is singular that this lane, of later times so notorious for intrigue, should receive its title from a family name, which, in the language of Chaucer, had an amorous signification,—

Of bataille and of chevalrie,
Of ladies' love and Druerie,
Anon I wol you tell."

Pennant's London, p. 145.

styles her, with no less poetry than justice, a "princess resplendent in the darkness of fortune."*

The following letter to Lord Finch, which is for the first time printed, will afford some notion of Elizabeth's playful humour :—

My Lord,

I assure you your letter was very welcome to me, being glad to find you are still heart-whole, and that you are in better health, if your cough is gone. As for your appetite, I confess your outlandish meats are not so good as beef and mutton. I pray you remember how ill pickled herring did use you here, and brought you one of your one hundred and fifty fevers. As for the Countess, I can tell you heavy news of her, for she is turned quaker, and preaches every day in a tub. Your nephew George can tell you of her quaking; but her tub-preaching is come since he went. I believe at last she will become an Adamite. I did not hear you were dead; wherefore I hope your promise not to die till you let me know it; but you must also stay till I give you leave to die, which will not be till we meet a shooting somewhere, but where that is God knows best. I can tell little other news here; my chief exercise being to jaunt betwixt this and Schievling, where my niece has been all this winter. I am now in mourning for my brother-in-law the Duke of Simmeren's

* Reliq. Wott. p. 222.

death. My Lady Stanhope and her husband are going, six weeks hence, into France to the waters of Bourbon, which is all I will say now, only that I am ever

Your most affectionate friend,

Hague, March 4. ELIZABETH.

I pray you remember me to your lady and to my Lord of Winchelsea.

To the Lord Finch.*

Elizabeth bequeathed her pictures, her books, and her papers to Lord Craven, who had been ever faithful and ever kind. That she was married to that nobleman, though it has been generally credited, has never been actually proved. He was thirteen years her junior; notwithstanding which disparity the feeling which actuated his attentions appears to have been something deeper than friendship. After her decease he is said to have resided principally at Combe Abbey, from its having been the scene of his beloved mistress's childhood.

It would be improper to dismiss our notice of the Queen of Bohemia, without a brief account of her presumed husband, and faithful servant, Lord Craven. He was the son of Sir William Craven, Knight, Merchant Tailor, who served the office of Lord Mayor of London in 1611. Early in life he had achieved a reputation in arms under Gus-

* Add. MSS. 4162; Art. 6. Brit. Mus.

tavus Adolphus, and Henry Prince of Orange, which probably led, 12th of March, 1626, to his being created Baron Craven. During the civil wars, having fought bravely and suffered severely in the royal cause, at the Restoration he was raised by Charles II, 15th of March, 1663, to be Viscount and Earl Craven. In 1670 he succeeded the great Duke of Albemarle as Colonel of the Coldstream Guards: he was also a member of the Privy Council to Charles II. and his brother James. To the last, his life was as useful to his fellow-creatures, as his character was brave, generous, and open. He voluntarily remained in London during the time of the great plague, and built a lazaretto for the sick, behind what is now called Golden Square, but which then consisted of open fields. Pennant says, "he braved the fury of the pestilence with the same coolness that he fought the battles of his beloved mistress, Elizabeth, or mounted the tremendous breach at Creutznach:" and Dr. Gumble,* his contemporary, informs us, that he "freely chose to venture his life upon a thousand occasions in this afflicted time, in the midst of the infected; provided nurses and physicians for them that were sick, and out of his own purse expended vast sums of money, to supply the necessities of such as were ready to perish; an honour beyond all his gallantries and brave exploits in Germany and elsewhere."

* Life of Monk, by Thomas Gumble, D.D.

In the same spirit of philanthropy, whenever a fire broke out in London or its vicinity, so eager was he in his exertions, and so immediately was he ever on the spot, that it was said that, "his horse smelt a fire as soon as it happened." It is remarkable, considering the Earl's well-known exertions on such occasions, that, in 1718, his splendid mansion at Hampstead-Marshall, should have been destroyed by fire.

Whether at home or abroad, no one was more generally loved or universally respected. Handsome and gallant in his youth, he was through life, agreeable, benevolent, and kind-hearted. If Elizabeth really accepted him as her husband, what more can be said, than that she showed her judgment and her taste. In *his* attachment there was something almost amounting to romance. A soldier in early life, he was in his heart a soldier to the last. When, at the accession of James II. it was proposed to take away his regiment from the old courtier, "They might as well," he said, "take away my life, for I have nothing else to divert myself with." Notwithstanding his military tastes, the researches of the Royal Society, and the decoration of his own garden, continued, to extreme old age, to be the sources of pleasure and improvement.

A character so amiable may bear to have a single weakness recorded. It is related of him, at the court of Charles the Second, that he had a

failing of whispering in the ears of the principal politicans at court, as if to leave an impression among the by-standers that he was the depository of some state secret. It was on this account that Lord Keeper Guildford used to style him "Earwig." Charles II. was once much amused with seeing the Earl of Dorset, whose high breeding made him a patient listener, undergoing the infliction of Lord Craven's whispering. When they parted, the King inquired of Dorset what he had been listening to. "My Lord Craven," said the Earl, "did me the honour to whisper, but I did not think it good manners to listen."* Lord Craven died, 9th of April, 1697, at the age of eighty-eight.

* Life of Lord Keeper Guildford, p. 187.

# LADY ARABELLA STUART.

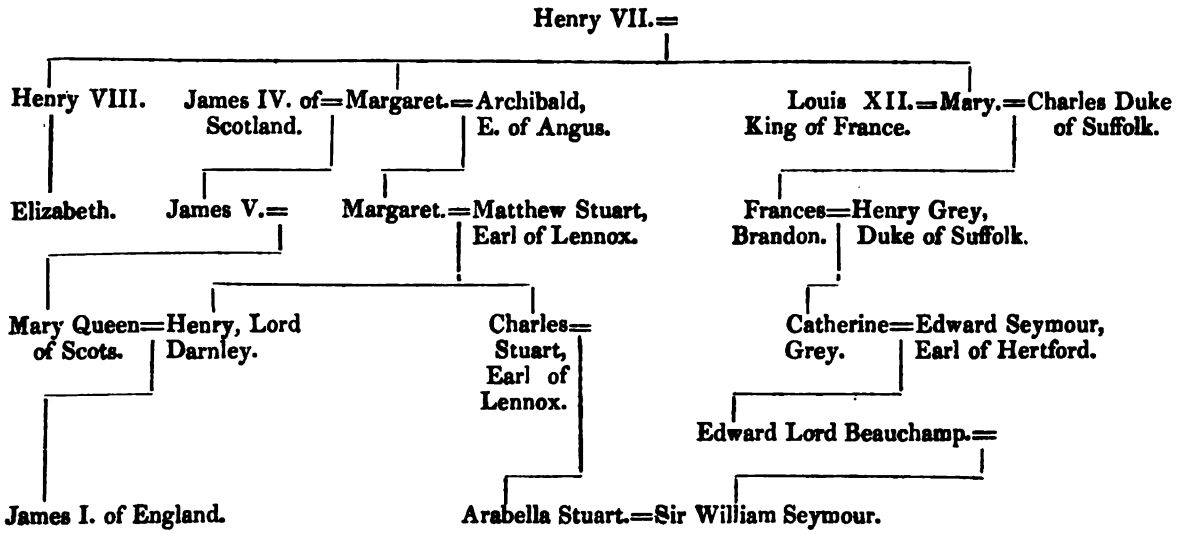
Character of this Lady—her Genealogy—her Importance in the political Intrigues of the Period.—Jealousy of Queen Elizabeth, and subsequently of James, with respect to her—her Lover Sir William Seymour, afterwards Marquess of Hertford—her private Marriage to Seymour—Persecution consequent on this.—Imprisonment of Lady Arabella and Seymour—their romantic Escape.—Pursuit of the Fugitives and Capture of Lady Arabella—her Committal to the Tower, and Death—her Burial in Westminster Abbey.

THOUGH nearly allied to the throne of England, and an object of jealousy to its possessors, it is remarkable how little is really known of the character of this unfortunate lady. By one writer, she is said to have been as little remarkable for beauty as for the qualities of her mind.* By others, her beauty and her genius have been highly extolled. Evelyn places her in his catalogue of learned women, and Philips among his Modern Poetesses.† Lodge in particular speaks of "her good sense, refined education, elegence of manners, and kindness of disposition." Let us, however, draw our own inferences from these contradictory statements, and we shall, perhaps, arrive at the truth. Certain it is, that though she became the object on which

* Biog. Brit. vol. i. p. 173. † Ballard, p. 248.

ambition centered its views, she was too sensible to be caught in the golden net which was spread for her. That she was artless and feminine in her disposition; — that if she did not excel, she at least was not deficient in mental and personal accomplishments;—that her life was unhappy, and her end miserable; these are nearly all the particulars that can now be told of a character to which so much importance was once attached.

Lady Arabella was first cousin to James the First, being the daughter of Charles Stuart, fifth Earl of Lennox, who was brother to Henry Lord Darnley, the King's father, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Cavendish, of Hardwick. James derived his claims to the throne of England, from being the great-grandson of Margaret, daughter of Henry the Seventh. Lady Arabella was her great-granddaughter, by the Queen's second marriage with Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, whose daughter, Lady Margaret Douglas, was married to Matthew Earl of Lennox, grandfather to the subject of the present memoir. Lady Arabella was born about the year 1577, and was educated in London under the care of her grandmother, Margaret Countess of Lennox, who was first cousin to Queen Elizabeth. The table in the following page will better explain this family connection, as well as the degree of relationship which existed between Lady Arabella Stuart and her future husband, Sir William Seymour.


Henry VII.=
Henry VIII.
James IV. of Scotland.=
Margaret.=
Archibald, E. of Angus.
Louis XII. King of France.=
Mary.=
Charles Duke of Suffolk.
Elizabeth.
James V.=
Margaret.=
Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lennox.
Frances=
Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk.
Brandon.
Mary Queen of Scots.=
Henry, Lord Darnley.
Charles= Stuart, Earl of Lennox.
Catherine Grey.=
Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford.
Edward Lord Beauchamp.=
James I. of England.
Arabella Stuart.=
Sir William Seymour.

Lady Arabella was too closely allied to the throne for her own happiness. Through life she was little more than a prisoner at large, whose every movement was watched and suspected. She was undoubtedly a person of considerable importance in the political intrigues of the period. The Papists, encouraged by the unsettled state of the English succession, were anxious to unite her to a foreign prince of their own persuasion. The Pope had thoughts of marrying her to a prince of the House of Farnese, with a view, if possible, of afterwards raising her to the throne of England. The Duke of Savoy was also mentioned as a suitable consort.* The famous plot, for which Broke and others suffered on the scaffold, and Raleigh, Grey, and Cobham, were sentenced to imprisonment, had for its object the elevation of Arabella to the throne, and her marriage with an English nobleman.

The jealousy of Queen Elizabeth prevented her relative from embracing several eligible opportunities of entering into the marriage state. James had been desirous of uniting her to her cousin the Duke of Lennox, but being opposed by Elizabeth, the project fell to the ground. The lady herself appears to have been extremely anxious to enter into the matrimonial state, and twice suffered imprisonment in the attempt. Previously to her clandestine match with Seymour, she had been on the eve of marriage with a son of the Earl of Northumberland; but the attempt becoming known to

* Ballard, p. 248; Biog. Brit. p. 173.

Elizabeth, she experienced a different kind of confinement to that which a married lady might have anticipated.

One of Elizabeth's methods of keeping James in proper subserviency, was by opposing the claims of Arabella Stuart to those of the Scottish monarch. When the latter was about twelve years of age, the Queen pointed her out to the wife of the French Ambassador:—"Do you see that little girl?" she said: "simple as she looks, she may one day sit in this chair of state and occupy my place." Elizabeth neglected her young relation, if she did not actually ill-treat her. When the Queen died, Lady Arabella's near relationship caused her to be specially invited to the funeral. She declined the honour, observing that, as "her access to the Queen had not been permitted in her life-time, she would not after her death be brought upon the stage for a public spectacle.* Her affinity to the blood-royal rendered her no less an object of jealousy with James. He seems to have been in dread lest she should throw herself on the protection of Spain,—a step which the existing state of politics might have rendered of unpleasant importance.† It appears, however, by the letters of the time, that as long as the political horizon was tolerably clear, and while there was no suspicion of her entering into the marriage state, she was not unkindly treated at the court of James. At one time the King paid her debts, presented her with a service of

* Ellis, Orig. Let. vol. iii. p. 59. † Carte, vol. ii. p. 811.

plate of the value of two hundred pounds, and made an important addition to her income.*

The Lady Arabella's last and accepted lover was Sir William Seymour, afterwards Earl and Marquess of Hertford. The progress and catastrophe of their affection is not without a tincture of romance. We must remember that her lover was afterwards that same Hertford so distinguished for his gallantry and loyalty during the civil wars,—the same Hertford, who, when his royal master was condemned to the scaffold, with Lindsey, Southampton, and the Duke of Richmond, accused himself, in his capacity of Privy-Counsellor, of being alone guilty of what was laid to the King's charge, and requested, with those noblemen, that he might die in the place of his sovereign. After the bloody catastrophe was over, he was one of those who accompanied the dead body of Charles, when it was borne in silence and almost in secrecy, to its last home. He had been the governor of Charles the Second, was a Knight of the Garter, and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. At the Restoration, Charles II. rewarded his services by restoring to him the dukedom of Somerset, which had been forfeited by the attainder of his great-grandfather, the magnificent Protector. The manner in which Charles conferred the boon does honour to his heart. He spoke gratefully of Hertford's services in open Parliament: "If, he said, "I have done an extraordinary act, it was done for an extraordinary person;

* Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 117.

one who has deserved so much both from my father and myself."*

The love of such a man gives dignity to romance. The intercourse between Seymour and Lady Arabella was first discovered in 1609, on which they were summoned before the Privy Council and severely reprimanded. The lady's character having suffered by the disclosure, in order to retrieve it, they were privately married: this event having been allowed to transpire, Seymour was sent to the Tower, and the Lady Arabella confined in the house of Sir Thomas Parry at Lambeth, from whence she was afterwards removed to Highgate, under the charge of Sir James Croft.† On Seymour's entering the Tower, Melvin, who was a prisoner there on account of his religious prejudices, sent him the following distich. The trifle is not without its merit, but the play on the Latin words renders its translation impracticable:—

Communis tecum mihi causa est carceris: Arabella tibi causa est,—Araque sacra mihi.‡

During their imprisonment the lovers found means to communicate; but their correspondence being discovered, it was determined to send the lady to Durham, a measure which would probably have effectually prevented any subsequent intercourse. Nothing now remained, therefore, but the hope of

* Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 165.

† Lodge's Illust. vol. iii. 178; Biog. Brit. vol. i. p.175.

‡ Isaac Walton's Series, p. 288; Ballard, p. 141.

escape, to effect which everything had been duly concerted, and, on a certain day, a vessel appointed to be in readiness in the Thames. Seymour, leaving his servant in his bed to prevent suspicion, disguised himself in a black wig and a pair of black whiskers, and following a cart that had been directed to bring fire-wood to his apartments, walked unquestioned out of the western entrance to the Tower. A boat was in waiting for him at the Tower Wharf, in which he rowed to the part of the river where he expected to meet his bride; but finding that she had sailed without him, he hired another vessel for forty pounds to convey him to Calais, where he eventually arrived in safety.

In the mean time, the Lady Arabella, having disguised herself in male attire, "drawing over her petticoats a pair of large French-fashioned hose, putting on a man's doublet, a peruke which covered her hair, a hat, black cloak, russet boots with red tops, and a rapier by her side," managed to elude the vigilance of her keepers, and, under the charge of a Mr. Markham, set out from Highgate on her perilous expedition. They walked some distance to a little inn, where a person attended with horses. She was, even at this early period, so overcome with fatigue and anxiety, that the ostler observed, as he held her stirrup, that the young gentleman would scarcely hold out till he arrived in London. Her spirits, however, revived with her increased prospects of escape. At Blackwall she found two female attendants with all the neces-

sary conveniences of female apparel; and, having entered with them into a boat, proceeded to the part of the river where she expected to be joined by her husband. At Tilbury Fort the boatmen became so fatigued, as to be obliged to go on shore to refresh themselves, leaving the unfortunate fugitive in the greatest trepidation from the fear of being betrayed. About a mile beyond Lee they discovered, and embarked on board the vessel which was waiting for them. Arabella herself was extremely anxious to run all risks, and to remain till the fate of her husband had been ascertained; but being overcome by the fears and importunities of her attendants, she eventually allowed the vessel to set sail without him.*

The flight of Arabella was the first which was discovered, and orders were immediately sent to the Tower to guard Seymour with increased vigilance. On entering his lodgings, however, the truth soon became apparent. The King was much disturbed by the event, and issued a proclamation for their arrest. A fast-sailing vessel, which lay in the Downs, was ordered to put to sea directly; first proceeding to the Dover roads, and then scouring the coast towards Dunkirk. Unfortunately, the pursuit was successful; and though the pinnace which conveyed Lady Arabella fired thirteen shots before she would strike, she was eventually brought-to and the fu-

* Wilson, 90; Winwood, vol. iii. pp. 279, 281.

gitive re-conducted to London. She expressed herself less afflicted at her own fate, than overjoyed at the escape of her husband.

Her examination and committal to the Tower shortly followed. Here she wore out a miserable existence, and is even said to have ended her days in madness;* an assertion, however, not sufficiently borne out by facts. Walpole observes, that her latest letters, though they "do not prove that she had parts, betray no appearance of madness." In one of them she subscribes herself "the most sorrowful creature living." Another supposition also existed, that her death was caused by poison; a conjecture as malicious as it was unfounded. Her body was examined after death, in the presence of several eminent physicians, who gave it as their unanimous opinion that she died of a chronic distemper; her end having been hastened, partly by her own neglect, and partly by her aversion to medicine.† She died on the 27th

* This supposition appears to have originated in the following passages in two letters of the period:—"The lady Arabella is said to be distracted, which (if it be so) comes well to pass for somebody, whom they say she hath nearly touched." Again:—"The lady Arabella is restrained of late, though they say her brain continues still cracked." These letters are dated in 1612 and 1613.—*Winwood*, vol. iii. p. 454.

† Biog. Brit. vol. i. p. 176 and 177. Camden in his Annals inserts the following notice of her dissolution:—"27th September, 1615; Arabella Stuart, daughter of Charles, Earl of Lennox, cousin-germain of Henry Darnley, father of King James, died in the Tower of London; was interred at Westminster, without any funeral pomp, in the night, in the same vault wherein Mary

of September 1615, more than four years after her unfortunate attempt to escape.

It is difficult to credit that a man of Seymour's character should have been captivated by a woman, who possessed no accomplishments either of person or mind. Besides, Lady Arabella was a great favourite with her relation, the highly gifted Prince Henry, who, as Birch tells us, "took all occasions of obliging her." This fact alone might lead us to a favourable opinion of her intellectual powers. It is not impossible also but that she had some claim to personal advantages; at least, if we may argue from a copy of verses addressed to her by William Fowler, Secretary, and master of the Requests to James's Queen. This production, which is most ingeniously absurd, concludes with the following lines :—

O graces rare! which time from shame shall save,
Wherein thou breath'st (as in the sea doth fish,
In salt not saltish,) exempt from the grave
Of sad remorse, the lot of worldling's wish.
O ornament both of thyself and sex,
And mirror bright, where virtues doth reflex! *

Queen of Scots and Prince Henry were buried. It is the saying of Charles the Fair, that those who die in the King's prison are deservedly deprived of funeral pomp, lest they should be thought to have been thrown into prison wrongfully."—(*Camden's Annals* in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 644.)—Bishop Goodman, in his Memoirs, makes a similar remark :—"It is true," he says, "that to have a great funeral for one dying out of the King's favour would have reflected upon the King's honour, and therefore it was omitted."—*Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 212.

* Lodge, Illust. vol. iii. p. 170.

Lady Arabella was buried in Westminster Abbey in the same vault with Mary Queen of Scots and Henry Prince of Wales, but without any memorial of her resting-place.* Camden says her funeral was conducted in the night, and without pomp. An epitaph was written for her by Richard Corbet, Bishop of Norwich. The production is far from remarkable for poetical talent, and the third and last lines are obscure :—

> How do I thank thee, Death, and bless thy power,
> That I have pass'd the guard, and 'scaped the Tower!
> And now my pardon is my epitaph,
> And a small coffin my poor carcass hath;
> For at thy charge, both soul and body were
> Enlarged at last, secured from hope and fear;
> That amongst saints, this amongst kings is laid,
> And what my birth did claim, my death hath paid.

Ballard informs us that her coffin was at one time so shattered and broken, that her skull and body might be seen. Seymour appears to have regarded his wife's memory with affection. It may be taken as an evidence of it, that he called one of his daughters by his second marriage with Frances, daughter of Robert Devereux Earl of Essex, by the name of Arabella Seymour.†

* Ballard, p. 248. † Biog. Brit. vol. i. p. 177.

# LODOWICK STUART,

## DUKE OF RICHMOND.

**King James's Affection for this Nobleman.—The Duke's Family Connections—his singular and sudden Death.—Parliament prorogued in respect to the Duke's Memory.**

A NOBLEMAN whose name is never mentioned without eulogy. James the First regarded him with personal affection, and seems fully to have appreciated in him those talents and that strong sense, of which, however, the monarch unfortunately neglected to avail himself. Had he invested him with half the power which he lavished on Somerset and Buckingham, it would have been far better for his own interests and the happiness of his realm.

The Duke was related not very distantly to his Sovereign. He was the younger son of Esme Stuart, Duke of Lennox, and great nephew to Matthew Earl of Lennox, the King's grandfather. James created him Duke of Richmond, and a Knight of the Garter, and appointed him Lord Steward of the Household. He was three times married: first, to Sophia, daughter of William Earl of Ruthven; secondly, into the family of Campbell; and lastly, to Frances, daughter of

Viscount Howard of Bindon. In 1604, he was sent Ambassador into France, where he appears to have been well received by the French Court.*

His death, which was singular and sudden, took place on the 12th of February 1625. The Duke was to have attended his Majesty in state at the opening of a new Parliament. The King missing him in his place, and making some inquiries as to the reason of his absence, a messenger was instantly despatched to the Duke's residence requiring his attendance. The Duchess, who fancied that she had left him asleep, was induced to open the curtains of his bed, and was horror-struck to discover her husband a corpse. The King appears to have been much affected at the circumstance, and paid an unusual compliment to the Duke's memory, by proroguing the Parliament for a week. The Duchess is said to have communicated to her intimate friends a private, and remarkable reason, for believing the Duke was in perfect health but a few hours previously to his death.†

* Talbot Papers; Lodge, Illust. vol. iii. pp. 246. 249.

† Wilson, p. 257; Sanderson, p. 557.

# FRANCES HOWARD,

## DUCHESS OF RICHMOND.

Character of this Lady—her Lineage—her First Husband—her Second Marriage.—Despair and Suicide of Sir George Rodney, her Lover—her Vanity rebuked by her Second Husband—her Third Marriage (to the Duke of Richmond).—her Ambition on becoming a Widow for the Third Time—her obstinate Arrogance—her affected Sanctity—whimsical Effect of her Vow—her Death.

Beauty, folly, vanity, and eccentricity, appear to have constituted the character of this remarkable woman. It is singular that she was the grandaughter of two Dukes, each of whom lost his life on the scaffold. Her father was Thomas, Viscount Howard of Bindon, second son of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, the lover of Mary Queen of Scots. Her mother was the eldest daughter of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, who fell a victim to the malice of Wolsey and his own ambition. The lady herself was the third wife of the respectable Duke Lodowick, whose brief memoir has just been introduced.

The first husband of Frances Howard was one Prannell, the son of a wealthy vintner of London. Under what circumstances the loveliest and proud-

est woman of her time, and the grandaughter of the two greatest subjects in England, became the wife of a citizen, it has been found impossible to explain. Prannell, however, died in December 1599, leaving her a young, childless, and beautiful widow. Sir George Rodney, a gentleman of the west of England, became shortly afterwards her professed and ardent admirer. She at first gave him encouragement, but the Earl of Hertford paying her his addresses, influenced perhaps by ambition, she jilted the unfortunate knight and married the Earl. Rodney, unable to endure the pangs of love and jealousy, hastened to Amesbury in Wiltshire, whither Hertford had carried his beautiful bride. Shutting himself up in a private room in the inn, according to Arthur Wilson, he wrote *with his own blood* some affecting verses descriptive of his misery and bereavement, after which he threw himself on his sword and died on the spot. The verses said to have been composed by Rodney on this occasion, are preserved in the British Museum, and may possibly be authentic. The singularity of the circumstances must be the apology for their insertion.

What shall I do that am undone!
Where shall I fly, myself to shun!
Ah me! myself myself must kill,
And yet I die against my will.
In starry letters I behold
My death in the heavens enroll'd.

There find I writ in skies above,
That I, poor I, must die for love.
'T was not my love deserved to die,
O no, it was unworthy I;
I for her love should not have died,
But that I had no worth beside.
Ah me! that love such woes procures,
For, without her, no love endures.
I for her virtues her do serve,—
Doth such a love a death deserve?

Hertford does not appear to have repented of his choice, for he subsequently settled a jointure on his Countess of five thousand pounds a year. In his lifetime she was very fond of boasting of her high extraction, and of the two Dukes her grandfathers. However, if the Earl happened to enter the room, he used to give her pride a check, by asking, — "Frank, Frank, how long is it since you were married to Prannell?"

Duke Lodowick fell in love with her while she was yet Countess of Hertford, and used to watch her motions in disguise; "sometimes in a blue coat and basket-hilt sword," as well as in other costumes. Scandal, however, appears to have taken no liberties with her name, and at Hertford's death the Duke gratified her ambition by making her his wife.

Her marriage with a near relation to the Sovereign excited her pride beyond all bounds; and becoming a third time a widow, she entertained a hope of captivating the old King, and filling the

place of his deceased Queen. The arrogant beauty actually announced her determination never to eat at the table of a subject, or to marry again beneath the rank of majesty; and though neither James, nor any other monarch, was gallant enough to tender her his hand, she persevered in her resolution to the last.

She delighted in state and notoriety, and endeavoured by every manner of artifice to obtain a character for splendour and generosity. At the christening of one of the Queen of Bohemia's children, she caused a report to be propagated that she had forwarded a magnificent present of plate to that Princess. An inventory of the different articles was even handed about at the time, but the donation only existed in air. The Duchess affected sanctity as well as state; and in the letters of the time there are frequent allusions to the ghostly conferences maintained at her house. On the 1st of March, 1634, Mr. Garrard writes to the Earl of Strafford,—"The Duchess of Richmond droops very much of late; she keeps her state of sermons and white staves, but hath been a good while not able to hear one sermon, or come amongst the company."* Archbishop Laud, in his crusade against Puritanism, was ungallant enough to interfere with her Grace's establishment, and effectually put a stop to this private preaching.

* Strafford Letters, vol. i. p. 374.

Her vow never to sit at table with a subject, was turned to an ingenious use. Her house was always frequented by the principal persons of the court, on which occasions her hall was filled with menials, and her tables groaned with dishes. But these it seems were empty, and as soon as the visitors had departed, the Duchess sat down alone to an extremely moderate repast.*

From the probability that her early marriage with Prannell was a mere love-match, and from the eccentric manner in which the Duke endeavoured to gain her affections, there is reason to believe that she had more romance in her composition than common sense. The death of the Duchess is said to have taken place in 1679, from which there is every reason to believe that she must have attained the age of an hundred at the time of her demise.

* Wilson, p. 258.

# MARY VILLIERS,

## COUNTESS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Character of this Lady — her Origin — her Marriage to Sir George Villiers—her Relations, the Beaumonts of Leicestershire. — Sir Thomas Beaumont's Proceedings against his Clerk, Coleman.—Escape of the latter from Punishment.—Death of Sir George Villiers. — Second Marriage of his Widow (to Sir Thomas Compton).—Duel between Compton and Bird. — Unexampled Rise of Lady Compton's Son—her own Aggrandizement—she is created Countess of Buckingham — Advancement of her family. — Change in the Customs and Appearance of James's Court — the Countess banished from the Court — Cause of this. — Influence possessed by the Countess over her all-powerful Son — her Belief in the Tenets of the Church of Rome—polemical Controversy. —Buckingham's Arrogance to Henrietta Maria.—Death and Burial of the Countess.

The mother of the magnificent favourite whose history more properly belongs to the next reign;—a busy, intriguing, masculine, and dangerous person; not deficient in personal beauty, but rendered odious, from what we can learn of her character, by every possible irregularity of mind. She is principally remarkable as having been the mother of the great Duke.

The Peerages, ever complaisant, speak of her as having been "the daughter of Anthony Beaumont of Glenfield, in the county of Leicester, Esq." Her

own importance at the court of James, and the grandeur which was achieved by her family, may render her actual origin a matter of interest. Roger Coke, in his "Detection of the Court of England," informs us, on the authority of his aunt, who was connected by marriage with the Villiers family, that she was a kitchen-maid in old Sir George Villiers's establishment; that he became enamoured of her, and persuaded his lady to place her about her own person; and adds, that after the death of his wife, Sir George presented her twenty pounds to improve her dress, which appears to have produced so wonderful an effect, that shortly afterwards he married her. Weldon styles her, "A gentlewoman whom the old man fell in love with and married."

Arthur Wilson's account is somewhat different. The old knight, he informs us, was on a visit to his kinswoman, Lady Beaumont, at Cole-horton, in Leicestershire, where he found a "young gentlewoman of that name, allied, and yet a servant to the family," who caught his affections, and whom he afterwards took for his wife. Her name was undoubtedly Beaumont, and, however distantly, she was certainly connected with the Leicestershire family of that name. Her kinspeople do not appear to have been gifted with over much morality. One Coleman, a clerk to Sir Thomas Beaumont, had very liberal favours conferred upon him both by Lady Beaumont and her daughters. He was mean enough to boast

of his success, on hearing which Sir Thomas brought him before the Star Chamber, where he was sentenced to be pilloried, whipped, and imprisoned for life. Forman, the celebrated astrologer, assured Coleman's friends that the culprit would manage to elude the punishment. The prediction proved correct. The sentence was directed to be carried into effect in Leicestershire, whither the culprit was attended by two keepers, who, as well as himself, journeyed on horseback. Coleman, who had induced the keepers to allow him to ride without shackles, seized a convenient opportunity, when he stabbed the horses of his companions, and escaped on his own.* There are some amusing circumstances connected with Forman's insight into the affair, but they are scarcely fit for insertion.

Sir George Villiers died in 1606, leaving his young widow with an income of only two hundred pounds a-year. She was twice married after his death, first to Sir William Rayner, of whom we know nothing, and secondly to Sir Thomas Compton, whom Coke styles a rich country grazier, adding, that she married him in order to make up her own deficiency of fortune. Of this Compton an amusing anecdote has been related. He is represented as an insignificant mean-spirited man, who allowed himself to be generally laughed at and insulted, and more particularly by one Bird, "a roaring captain," who seems to have been his

* Lilly's Life of Himself, p. 20.

arch-tormentor, and was incessant in his provocations. Compton's friends, however, eventually so wrought on his peaceful nature (telling him that he had better die at once than endure such a system of persecution), that he was induced to send Bird a challenge. The latter, as the individual challenged, had the choice of place and weapons; accordingly he selected swords and a saw-pit, intimating to Compton's second that his object in selecting the latter place was to prevent the possibility of his principal running away. The combatants actually met in a saw-pit, when Bird, contemptuously flourishing his sword over his head, began to jeer at Compton, a much smaller man than himself, on the new light in which he was presenting himself. The latter, perceiving his adversary's weapon in the air, ran under it, and passing his own sword through Bird's body, killed him on the spot.*

The unexampled rise of her son was a new era in her existence. It raised her from an impoverished country lady to be the proud manager of a court. On the 1st of July 1618, she was created by letters patent Countess of Buckingham in her own person, an unusual kind of distinction, of which the last example was in the days of Queen Mary.†

The Countess did not leave her family in the background, and if beauty be deserving of rank, the honours which were conferred on them were not ill bestowed. Besides the splendid rise of her

* Wilson, p. 148. † Reliq. Wott. p. 237.

fortunate son, she lived to see her eldest son, Viscount Purbeck ;* her third, Earl of Anglesea ;† and her daughter, Countess of Denbigh.‡ Of the two half-brothers of the Duke, the sons of Sir George Villiers by his first wife, Audrey Sanders, William was one of the first Baronets, and from Sir Edward, President of Munster, are descended the Viscounts Grandison and the Earls of Clarendon and Jersey. "The King," says Arthur Wilson, who never cared much for women, "had his court swarming with the Marquis's kindred, so that the little ones would dance up and down the private lodgings like fairies, and it was no small sap that would maintain all those suckers." Bishop Goodman also, in his Memoirs, alludes to the alteration in the King's habits and feelings: "The King," he says, "did usually send for the nurse and the Duke's children into his own bed-chamber, and there play with them many hours together. And the King being once with the children, news was brought him that there was an ambassador come to speak with him, whereupon he willed the nurse to stay there with the children, and when he had spoken with the ambassador he would come again to her. This the nurse herself told me."

* John, created, in 1619, Baron Villiers of Stoke, and Viscount Purbeck.

† Christopher, created, in 1623, Baron Daventry and Earl of Anglesea.

‡ Susan, wife of William Fielding Earl of Denbigh, the ancestor of the present Earl.

This change in the customs and appearance of James's court appears to have amused others besides Goodman and Wilson. Weldon says:— "Little children did run up and down the King's lodgings like little rabbits started about their burrows. Here was a strange change, that the King who formerly would not endure his Queen and children in his lodgings, now you would have judged that none but women frequented them; nay, that was not all, but the kindred had all the houses about Whitehall, as if they had been bulwarks and flankers to that citadel." By the author of the Aulicus Coquinariæ they are styled "a race handsome and beautiful," an hereditary advantage, if we may judge by many a fair face of later times.

About the year 1622 the Countess was banished the court, as was supposed, for her attachment to the Roman Catholic religion. It appears, however, by a letter of the time,* that she owed her dismissal to a far different cause. A chain, valued at 3000*l.* which had belonged to Anne of Denmark, had been presented by the King, at the instigation of Prince Charles, to the Duchess of Lennox, and by the Prince himself placed round the lady's neck. The Countess of Buckingham was not a little annoyed at so great an honour and so valuable a present having been conferred on another. The next day she actually sent a messenger to the Duchess, affirm-

* Dr. Meade to Sir Martin Stuteville, 8 June, 1622. *Ellis' Orig. Letters*, vol. i. p. 130.

ing that the King had especial reasons for wishing to regain possession of the chain, which he would replace by some other article no less valuable, and desiring that it might be returned accordingly. "The messenger," writes Dr. Meade, "who went in the King's name, and not hers, being sounded by the amazed Duchess, whether himself had heard that order from the King, or not, at last confessed he was sent by the Countess, who had it from his Majesty. Whereupon the Duchess bid him tell the Countess, that she would not so much dishonour the Prince who brought it, as to suffer it to be carried back by any hand but his, or her own; for if his Majesty would have it, she would carry it herself; which the next day she performed, desiring to know wherein she offended his Majesty. The King, understanding the business, swore he was abused: and the Prince told him that he took it for so great an affront on his part, that he would leave the court if she stayed in it; with no small expression of indignation. My author for this was Sir William Bourser, of Uppingham."

The Countess, undoubtedly, had great influence over her all-powerful son, and is reported to have been the actual dispenser of the immense patronage which ostensibly flowed from his hands. She had no objection to a bribe. Henry Montague, Earl of Manchester, is said to have obtained the office of Lord Privy Seal at her hands, for a large sum. The *White Staff* had been conferred on him at

Newmarket, where there is a great scarcity of timber. A friend, alluding to these circumstances, pleasantly inquired of the Earl, "if wood were not extremely dear at Newmarket." She had a hand in all transactions both of Church and State, and the suppliants for her son's favour in the first instance addressed themselves to her. In allusion to this influence, as well as to her being a Roman Catholic, Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, with more wit than reverence, thus expresses himself in one of his despatches to his own court:—"There was never more hope of England's conversion to the Romish faith than now; for here there are more prayers offered to the mother than the son."* Lord Keeper Williams, also, then Dean of Westminster, is said to have been indebted to her influence for the Bishopric of Durham and the custody of the Great Seal. Indeed, there rests a suspicion that the existence of a tender familiarity between them was the secret of his rise.†

Her belief in the tenets of the Church of Rome was considered of some importance in her lifetime, since on this foundation rested the hopes of the Papists of converting the Duke her son. Previous, however, to her open and dangerous confession of being a proselyte, Buckingham, aware of the odium which such a disclosure would entail upon himself, exerted his utmost influence to bring her back to her original principles. James, moreover, never

* Wilson, p. 149. † Balfour, vol. ii. p. 93.

averse to polemical controversies, entered warmly into this laudable endeavour. One Fisher, a Jesuit, had already brought her to the eve of an open declaration. In opposition, therefore, to the arguments of the zealous father, the Duke brought forward Dr. Francis White, Divinity Lecturer at St. Paul's, and celebrated for his controversial dexterity, who consented to encounter the Jesuit in the lady's presence, and overthrow his arguments against the Protestant Church. One or two conferences accordingly took place, at one of which the King was himself present. Dr. White's arguments appear to have produced but slight influence on the Countess. In Buckingham, however, they were remarkable as having adventitiously excited an interest in his own spiritual welfare. He took the doctor into his favour, and, on the Sunday following the last conference, received the Sacrament at Greenwich.*

The Countess is accused of having tampered with the life of her sovereign. We have nothing to add to what has already been adduced in the Memoir of King James.

Buckingham was attached to his mother with all her faults, and could not endure that she should be treated with disrespect. Henrietta Maria, in the ensuing reign, had promised on some occasion to visit the Countess in her apartments, but from some

* Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 95; Bishop Hacket's Life of Lord Keeper Williams, part ii. p. 171.

unavoidable cause was prevented from keeping her appointment. The arrogant favourite entered the chamber of his Queen; and after some expostulation, told her in plain terms, that "she should repent it." Henrietta naturally retorting with some indignation, the Duke reminded her "that there had been Queens in England *who had lost their heads.*"* In all probability the quarrel had a deeper origin than a mere neglect in the payment of a visit.

The Countess died on the 19th of April, 1632, at her apartments in the Gate-house, Whitehall, which opened into King Street, Westminster. She was buried with considerable pomp in St. Edmund's chapel, situated in the south-aisle of Westminster Abbey.†

* Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. 69.

† Collins's Peerage, vol. iv. 177; Granger, vol. iii. p. 223.

# THOMAS SACKVILLE,

## EARL OF DORSET.

**His literary Accomplishments and political Services—his poetical Works—his wanton Extravagance.—Cause of his Reformation—his sudden Death—his Funeral.**

THE Earl of Dorset was more remarkable from his literary accomplishments than his political talent. He was distinguished, however, for a strong sense, an unimpeachable integrity, and a cautious prudence, which perhaps are more to be coveted than genius itself. These qualities, added to the antiquity of his family, and the large fortune he inherited from his father, not only procured his elevation to the peerage, but caused him to be employed in several delicate transactions, wherein none but a very sensible and loyal man would have been trusted. It is singular that he sat among the peers who condemned Thomas Duke of Norfolk to the scaffold; that he was Lord High Steward at the trial of the unfortunate Essex; and that he was not only one of the commissioners appointed to try Mary Queen of Scots, but was selected to communicate to that

Princess the fatal intelligence that her days were numbered.

The Earl was the eldest son of Sir Richard Sackville, who had been in some degree a favourite with Elizabeth, and was indeed related to the Queen through the Boleyns. His son was born at Buckhurst, in Sussex, in 1536, received his education at the Universities both of Oxford and Cambridge; was afterwards entered at the Inner Temple, and was elected for the county of Sussex in the first parliament of Elizabeth. On the 8th of June, 1567, he was created Lord Buckhurst by Elizabeth, and on the 13th of March, 1604, Earl of Dorset by James the First. Besides having been employed successively as Ambassador to France and the United Provinces, and having been joined in several important commissions, he was Lord High Treasurer, a Knight of the Garter, and Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

He wrote several poems, besides being, with Thomas Norton, the joint author of "Gorboduc," the first respectable tragedy in the English language. It was acted by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple, before the Queen at Whitehall on the 18th of January, 1561. This play, notwithstanding its acknowledged merit, was singularly scarce, within the century after it was written; Shakspeare's glorious plays and Jonson's exquisite masques having annihilated common genius. Dryden and Oldham, in the succeeding age, amused

themselves with ridiculing Dorset's dramatic effort; which, however, it has been proved they could never have read, for each of them speaks of Gorboduc *as a woman*: this tragedy is reprinted in the last edition of Dodsley's Collection of Old Plays. Pope was a great admirer of Lord Dorset's muse, and does credit to the purity of his style, and that freedom from bombast, which was the great fault of our early tragic writers. He styles him the best poet between Chaucer and Spenser.

Dorset, in his younger days, had been remarkable as a man of pleasure and a spendthrift. His vast hereditary fortune had at one time nearly passed through his hands; and in his appointment to the Treasurership, he afforded a by no means solitary instance of an individual, who had wantonly squandered his own fortune, being entrusted with the purse of the public. This is not mentioned as a matter of reproach; since, whatever may have been his early faults, no man ever administered the public revenues with more credit to himself, or advantage to his country. The incident which occasioned the Earl's reformation is curious. His necessities obliging him to borrow a sum of money, he applied to a wealthy alderman for his assistance. Happening one day to call at the citizen's house, he was allowed to remain a considerable time unnoticed and alone. This indignity, to which his misconduct compelled him to

submit, so wrought upon his feelings, that he resolved from that moment to alter his mode of life. It may be added that he conscientiously adhered to his resolution.

The Earl died suddenly at the Council Board, on the 19th of April, 1608. In the heat of argument he rose from his seat; and as he drew some papers from his bosom, exclaimed vehemently, "I have that here which will strike you dead." He fell down at the moment, and died almost immediately.* The Queen was present when he expired. His funeral took place in Westminster Abbey, where he was buried with great solemnity, the Archbishop of Canterbury preaching his funeral sermon on the occasion. His body is said to have been afterwards removed, according to a request in his last will, to the parish church of Withiam, in Sussex.†

* Aubrey's Letters of Eminent Men, vol. ii. p. 334.

† Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 347; Biog. Brit. vol. v. p. 3543; Biog. Dram. vol. iii. p. 237; Granger, vol. ii. p. 18; Collins's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 159, in which works the life and character of this nobleman are most fully treated of. See also Osborne, Wilson, Naunton, Sir Egerton Brydges, Cibber, Warton, Walpole, Fuller, and Wotton. The Earl has no reason to complain of neglect.

# ROBERT CECIL,

## EARL OF SALISBURY.

His Genius as a Statesman—his Rise in power, and Elevation to the Earldom of Salisbury — his personal Character.— Lady Derby and Queen Elizabeth. — Salisbury's Gallantry—his Knowledge of King James's Character—his Employment of Spies—his secret Correspondence with James during the Life of Elizabeth.—Critical Incident.—Salisbury's Account of his Situation as a Favourite—his miserable Death.—Account of his last Sickness by his Chaplain—his Funeral at Hatfield.

The minister of two sovereigns, and the founder of Theobalds and Hatfield. With a genius almost equal to that of his father, the great Lord Burleigh, he possessed a wonderful knowledge of human character, and that insinuating art, which, while it worms out the secrets of others, preserves its own object in the dark. Artifice and dissimulation are unpopular qualities; and when practised by the statesman in his public capacity, are too apt to affect his character in private life. Such was the lot of Salisbury. Party feeling has added its withering curse, and the name of the greatest politician of his time is seldom mentioned without obloquy. Still, however, it would be difficult to discover a single instance where the wisdom of his

administration can justly be called in question. The appointments which he made were admirable: as High Treasurer he gave vigour to an exhausted exchequer, and in a corrupt age afforded proof that he was incorruptible. Temptations which even the great Bacon was unable to resist, were by him disregarded. There have been many worse men, and few wiser ministers, than Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury.

He was born on the 1st of June, 1563, and was early initiated into public life. Lloyd, in his Worthies, styles him a "courtier from his cradle." In June, 1591, he was knighted by Elizabeth, and on the 13th of May, 1603, was created by James, Lord Cecil of Essingden; and on the 20th of August, 1604, Viscount Cranbourn. He was the first Viscount who ever wore a coronet.* On the 4th of May, 1605, he was raised to the Earldom of Salisbury. It would be out of place to enter here into the details of his political history. Besides his state appointments, he was a Knight of the Garter, and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. He was married to Elizabeth, daughter of William Brook, Lord Cobham, who died in child-bed, in 1591.

The Earl was deformed in his body, but his face is described as handsome. Lloyd says, "For his person he was not much beholden to nature,

* Coronets were not allowed to the Barons of England till the reign of Charles the Second.

though somewhat for his face, which was the best part of his outside."* He was cheerful and good-humoured: he delighted in all mirthful meetings, and had a laudable taste for magnificence. Gallantry, in the courtly cabinet of Elizabeth, was almost considered as a kind of duty, and the young secretary was not unmindful of his part. The following passage is from a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, dated 18th September, 1592:—"I send your Lordship here inclosed some verses, compounded by Mr. Secretary, who got Hales to frame a ditty unto it. The occasion was, as I hear, that the young Lady Derby, wearing about her neck in her bosom a picture which was in a dainty tablet, the Queen espying it, asked what fine jewel that was. The Lady Derby† was curious to excuse the showing of it; but the Queen would have it; and opening it and finding it to be Mr. Secretary's, snatched it away, and tied it upon her shoe, and walked long with it there; then she took it thence and pinned it to her elbow, and wore it some time there also, which Mr. Secretary being told of, made these verses, and had Hales to sing them in his chamber. It was told her Majesty, that Mr. Secretary had rare music and songs; she would needs hear them; and so this ditty was sung, which you see first written. More

* State Worthies, vol. ii. p. 16.

† Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward, seventh Earl of Oxford, and wife of William, sixth Earl of Derby.

verses there be likewise, whereof some or all were likewise sung. I do boldly send these things to your Lordship, which I would not do to any else; for I hear they are very secret. Some of the verses argue that he repines not, though her Majesty please to grace others, and content himself with the favour he hath." The poetry unfortunately has escaped the industry both of Park and Walpole.

His admiration of women was excessive, and carried to unfortunate lengths. It is frequently alluded to in the lampoons of the day. Sir Symonds D'Ewes speaks of him as a "good statesman and no ill member of the Commonwealth, though an ill Christian in respect of his unparalleled lust, and hunting after strange flesh." Bishop Goodman, also, evidently admits the accusation to be deserved. This taste has been occasionlly supposed to be connected with the cause of his death.

No one understood better the character of King James, or availed himself of that knowledge with greater dexterity. "Knowing the King to be fearful," says Bishop Goodman, "he did often possess him with jealousies and dangers, and then he in his wisdom would prevent them, and so ingratiate himself with the King." In the same spirit was his transfer of Theobalds to his sovereign: though he received in exchange lands far exceeding it in value, he had the ingenuity to persuade his master that he was obliging him by the act.*

* Lingard, vol. ix. p. 87.

The system of acquiring information through the means of spies was practised by him to a great extent. He employed them at all the principal courts in Europe, and paid large sums for the intelligence which he received. His subtlety and sagacity were fully appreciated by his master King James, with whose notions of king-craft they fully coincided. With that monarch these were the qualities of a master-mind. He used to style Salisbury, and even commenced his letters to him, as "his little beagle."* Antonio Perez, secretary to the King of Spain, used to style him Robertus Diabolus, Robert the Devil.†

The Earl had wisely anticipated the favour of James in the life-time of Elizabeth, and had long corresponded with that Prince as to the best means of securing his accession to the English throne. Had the circumstance become known to the Queen, it would undoubtedly have ended in his utter ruin. On one occasion she was on the very verge of being enlightened on the subject. She happened to be taking the air on Blackheath, when a state courier passed by the carriage with despatches. Ascertaining that he came from Scotland, she demanded his papers, which were delivered to Cecil, who was in the coach at the time. The secretary trembled for his secrets, but his admirable presence of mind preserved him. He did not hesitate a moment in

* Collins's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 325.

† Birch's Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, vol. ii. p. 307.

breaking open the despatches, for delay might have awakened suspicion; but having done so, he told the Queen that they looked and "smelt ill-favouredly," a circumstance which, from his knowledge of her character, he was well aware would effectually arrest her curiosity.* Sir Henry Wotton relates the above story, adding that Cecil gained a considerable time by inquiring among the by-standers for a knife. Sir Henry mentions incidentally that the bearer of the despatches blew a horn to announce his approach. It is singular perhaps that this custom should have continued to

* Wilson, p. ii. The story is somewhat differently related by Bishop Goodman, in his Memoirs: — "The correspondency," he says, "held with the King of the Scots was ever sent by the French post and not by Berwick, for he knew that the Queen being most wise, was ever jealous and suspicious of such correspondency; and no doubt but she had her spies to discover it. And her Majesty one day walking in Greenwich Park, heard the Post blow his horn; whereupon she caused the Post to be brought unto her, and willed him to lay down his packet of letters, for that she would peruse them. The news was brought to the Secretary, who instantly hastens and kneels before the Queen, and humbly beseecheth her Majesty not to disgrace him in that manner, for that all men would conceive it to be out of a jealousy and suspicion of him, which would much tend to his dishonour and disgrace, whereby he should be disenabled to do her Majesty that good service which otherwise he might; and seeing that never any Prince did the like, and that it might be a warning and discouragement to other servants. Whereupon the Queen was over-entreated to desist, and no doubt but by the entreaty of the ladies and others there present."—*Bishop Goodman's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 32.

the present day. Salisbury, it may be remarked, draws no very agreeable picture of his situation either as a minister or a favourite. He passed his time, he tells us, "in trouble, hurrying, feigning, suing, and such like matters, knowing not where the winds and waves of the court might bear him." There is an instructive moral in this unvarnished sentence, proceeding as it does from the envied minion of two successive monarchs.

A kind of mystery has always hung over the painful circumstances of Salisbury's end. The scandalous chroniclers of the period have invested it with peculiar degradation. Weldon remarks,— "With all his great honours, and possessions, and stately houses, he found no place but the top of a mole-hill, near Marlborough, to end his miserable life; so that it may be said of him and truly, he died of a most loathsome disease, and remarkable, without house, without pity, without the favour of that master who had raised him to so high an estate." Osborne echoes the story as told by Weldon, asserting that the Earl died on Salisbury plain in his coach, and that his death was caused by a loathsome disease. The doctor, he adds, who attended him, was an empiric, and only famous for the cure of such disorders.

A great part of this story it is not very difficult to disprove. As far, however, as regards the particular disease alluded to, it is right to add that it is hinted at by more than one writer, and in several

pasquinades, of the period. The following seem to be the true circumstances of Salisbury's last illness and death :—His laborious attention to state affairs had brought on a consumption of the lungs, which, added to a scorbutic affection, had continued to waste and afflict him for many years. To these we may add an immoderate passion for fruit. "Being crooked in body," says Bishop Goodman, "the veins have not that current passage, and, therefore, such bodies are usually neither healthful nor long-lived: hereunto, I may add that he was much given to eating of fruits, especially grapes, and that very immoderately; if some shall further add the fruits of wantonness, I take no notice thereof." His physicians had recommended a journey to Bath, but finding his residence there productive of no advantage, he expressed a wish to return and die in his own home. On his way to London he was taken so ill, that having fainted in his litter, it was thought most expedient to place him in his coach, and convey him to Marlborough. He died at the house of a Mr. Daniel in that town. His son Lord Cranbourne, Lord Clifford his son-in-law, and several of his friends were with him at the last,* and so far was he from having forfeited the King's favour, that James had visited the Earl's sick bed more than once before his departure for Bath, and had given minute directions that he should be attended

* Aulicus Coquinariæ, in Sec. Hist. of James I. vol. ii. p. 156; Collins's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 327; Sanderson, p. 383.

with unremitting care. A report coming from Bath that the minister was in a likely way to recover, James despatched Lord Hay to him with a diamond ring, to which he added a message, "that the favour and affection he bore him, was, and should be ever, as the form and matter of that ring, endless, pure, and most perfect."*

A very interesting account of the Earl's last sickness was drawn up by his chaplain, the Reverend John Bowles, of which the following are the most remarkable passages:—"On Saturday, May 23, we went to Marlborough, where my Lord was very ill and ready to faint. In the chamber we had prayers. Afterwards my Lord was undressed, went to bed, and slept ill.

"On Sunday, May 24, the lords commanded me to preach at the church. After sermon we came into his chamber, where we found him very weak, and no posture could give him ease. We went to prayer. And though my Lord's weakness was very much, yet with a devout gesture standing up on his crutches, he with affection repeated the material parts and passages of the prayer. And all the rest of the time till we went to dinner, all his speech was nothing but, O Jesus! O sweet Jesus! and such short ejaculations as the weakness of his body did give him leave.

"After dinner Dr. Poe did rise, and I came unto him. My Lord's head lay upon two pillows upon

* Biog. Brit. vol. ii. p. 1272.

Master Townsend's lap. Ralph Jackson was mending the swing that supported him. 'So,' saith he, 'let me up but this once.' Then he called to Dr. Poe for his hand, which having, he griped somewhat hard, and his eyes began to settle, when he cried, 'O Lord,' and so sinked down without groan, or sigh, or struggling. At the same instant I joined in prayer with him, that God would receive his soul and spirit, which short words being suddenly spoken by me, he was clean gone, and no breath nor motion in him."* The same story is related of Salisbury after death, as has been reported of Oliver Cromwell, that from some singular process of decomposition, his body "purged" through the leaden coffin in which it was confined.† By some writers, his death is said to have been caused by that most horrible of visitations, the Herodian disease.

His memory was generally regarded with detestation. This feeling is easily accounted for, by the immense fortune which he had amassed; his inclosures of Hatfield chase; some unfounded reports of oppression, and his unaccountable treatment of Raleigh; besides, the death of Essex had been neither forgotten nor forgiven by the people. Yet even his enemies speak warmly of his incorruptible honesty. Osborne gives him credit for superior probity, and Sir Symonds D'Ewes speaks of him, as

* Desiderata Curiosa, vol. i. lib. vi. p. 15.

† Osborne, in Sec. Hist. of James I. vol. i. p. 235.

having supplied the expenses of the Crown without impoverishing the subject:—what can a Lord Treasurer do more? Thomas, Earl of Dorset, one of those men whose good word is valuable, mentions Salisbury with the highest encomiums in his will. He bequeaths him his "rich chain of gold, with a George set with rubies and diamonds: likewise a garter of purple velvet, with two chains of gold on each side, set with twelve diamonds, and one great diamond in the middle of the buckle; and several other jewels."*

The death of the Earl took place on the 24th of May, 1612. His remains were conveyed to Hatfield, where they were interred with considerable magnificence.

* Collins's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 325.

# ROBERT CARR,

## EARL OF SOMERSET.

Strange Infatuation of James I.—Origin of Carr's Advancement—his Power at Court—he is created Earl of Somerset, and becomes first Minister — his intimate Friendship with Sir Thomas Overbury — his Popularity — his Choice of a Mistress. — Marriage of the Earl of Essex and Frances Howard. — The nuptial Mask. — Separation of the youthful Pair. — Profligacy of the Bride. — Lady Essex divorced and married to Somerset. — Overbury's Opposition to this Union. — The Lady's meditated Revenge. — Overbury committed to the Tower.—Project to poison him.—Overbury's Death.—Somerset's Remorse, and Decline in the Royal Favour—his Apprehension for the Murder of Overbury.—The King's detestable Hypocrisy. — Execution of Somerset's Accomplices.—Examination into the Cause of the Murder of Overbury. — James's Anxiety to get rid of Somerset. — Examination of the latter by Commissioners. — James's Letters to Sir George More. — Trial of Somerset — his Condemnation and Sentence. — Reprieve of himself and his Countess — their full Pardon. — Interview between the King and Somerset.—Marriage of Anne, Daughter of Somerset, to the Earl of Bedford. — Redeeming Trait in the Character of Somerset —his Death.

It was a strange infatuation which induced James the First to select his ministers for the beauty of their persons, and the fashion of their clothes. But this weakness amounted to criminality, when he entrusted the honour of his country,

and the welfare and happiness of his people, to a grasping, illiterate, and heartless minion. Buckingham, it is true, had many faults; but Somerset appears to have been deficient even of a single virtue.

The instances are not few, where men have been raised by mere accident to unbounded power. In the first rank of these stands Robert Carr. He was descended from a respectable Scottish family,* and had spent some years in France, acquiring the necessary qualifications of a courtier. Some writers have asserted, that he had been a favourite of James, in Scotland, and at the coronation was made a Knight of the Bath. This is not the fact. Carr had certainly been a royal page before the accession of James to the throne of England: he was, however, a mere child at the time, and many years must have elapsed before his re-introduction at Court, in 1609.† Harris says, that he was *dismissed* from his post of page, but this appears solely to rest on the authority of that party writer. "He then," continues the same authority, "went into France, from whence returning, through accident, was taken notice of by James." This memorable accident occurred under the following circumstances:—At a

* Sanderson, p. 376, calls him a "Scottish-man of no eminencie, but a gentleman by his bearing Gules, on a cheviron Arg.; three mullets, Sable; in the dexter point of the escutcheon, a lion, passant gardant, Or."

† Five years of King James, p. 7; Wilson, p. 55; Aulicus Coquinariæ.

splendid tilting match at Whitehall, Carr had been selected by his countryman, Lord Hay, to present his shield and device to the King. As he rode up the lists, in the execution of this duty, his horse became unmanageable, and threw him before the King's face. James, struck with the beauty of his person, and concerned at the severity of the accident, for his leg had been broken by the fall, gave directions that he should be conveyed to the palace, and carefully attended by the royal surgeons. As soon as the tilting was over, the King paid him a visit. He returned the next day, and, indeed, as long as the confinement lasted, was daily in the habit of passing an hour or two in the chamber of the fortunate invalid. On his recovery, for which James was exceedingly impatient, he was made a knight, and a gentleman of the bed-chamber. The King even turned schoolmaster on the occasion, for he endeavoured to instil into his new favourite the rudiments of government, and a knowledge of the Latin tongue.* Probably Carr was not an apt scholar. When made a Privy Councillor, Peyton says, that "he furnished his library only with twenty play books and wanton romances, and that he had no other in his study."

The rising of the new star was watched with the utmost anxiety. The harpies of the Court had flocked in such numbers to his sick chamber, that a restraint was obliged to be laid on their visits,† lest

* Wilson, p. 55; Weldon, p. 58. † Ibid. p. 58.

his recovery should be retarded by their attentions. He shortly became the disposer of all the important places about the court: as has been said of a greater man, Cardinal Wolsey:—

> To him the church, the realm, their powers consign,
> Through him the rays of regal bounty shine;
> Still to new heights his restless wishes tower;
> Claim leads to claim, and power advances power;
> 'Till conquest unresisted ceased to please,
> And rights submitted, left him none to seize.

The last line it is hardly fair to apply to Carr. Unlike his successor, Buckingham, however, we are told that he did not actually expel those who were in office, but had the decency to wait for the common course of events, before he conferred their places upon his own creatures.

In 1612 he was created Lord Carr, of Bransprath, and Viscount Rochester, and advanced to be Lord High Treasurer of Scotland. Shortly afterwards he was made a Knight of the Garter. In 1614 he was created Earl of Somerset, and appointed Lord Chamberlain of the Household, and at the death of Salisbury he became first minister.

Somerset has, at least, the negative merit of being fully aware of his own inexperience and incapacity. He selected for his adviser the famous Sir Thomas Overbury, a man of a strong mind and considerable genius, but irascible in his nature and afterwards rendered insolent by success. They had previously lived on terms of affection with each other. "Such," we are told, "was the warmth of their friendship,

that they were inseparable. Carr could enter into no scheme, nor pursue any measure without the advice and concurrence of Overbury, nor could Overbury enjoy any felicity but in the company of him he loved; their friendship was the subject of Court conversation, and their genius seemed so much alike, that it was reasonable to suppose no breach could ever be produced between them."* As long as Overbury continued in favour, and his advice was followed, the King's affairs were not ill-managed, and the favourite remained tolerably free from obloquy. Indeed, the incessant calls of pleasure left Somerset but little leisure for the transaction of state affairs.

The conduct of the favourite at this period was certainly discreet and even praiseworthy. He agreeably disappointed the English courtiers by exhibiting no partiality for his Scotch connections. We are told that he had but one friend and one servant of that nation. His manners also were invariably flattering and conciliating. He was civil to the scholar and liberal to the soldier.† Such a line of conduct naturally rendered him popular, for mankind are easily enslaved by the attentions of the great.

Had Somerset been half as prudent in the choice of his mistress, as he had been in the selection of his friend, his lot would have been happier, and his

* Cibber's Lives of the Poets, vol. i. p. 113.

† Lloyd's State Worthies, vol. ii. p. 30.

name brighter with posterity. On the 5th of January, 1606, were married Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, the son of Elizabeth's favourite, and Frances Howard, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Suffolk; a bridegroom of fourteen to a bride of thirteen. In a letter of the period we have a curious account of the nuptial rejoicings on the occasion. "The bridegroom," says the writer, "carried himself as gravely and gracefully as if he were of his father's age. He had greater gifts given him than my Lord of Montgomery had, his plate being valued at 3000*l.*, his jewels, money, and other gifts at 1000*l.* more. But to return to the Mask. Both Inigo, Ben, and the actors, men and women, did their parts with great commentation. The conceit, or soul of the Mask, was Hymen bringing in a bride, and Juno Pronuba's priest, a bridegroom, proclaiming that those two should be sacrificed to nuptial union; and here the poet made an apostrophe to the union of the kingdoms; but before the sacrifice could be performed, Ben Jonson turned the globe of the earth, standing behind the altar, and within the concave sat the eight men maskers, representing the four Humours and the four Affections, who leaped forth and disturbed the sacrifice to union. But amidst their fury, Reason, that sat above them all, crowned with burning tapers, came down and silenced them. These eight, together with Reason, their moderator, mounted above their heads, sat somewhat like the ladies in the scallop-shell, the

last year. About the globe of earth, hovered a middle region of clouds, in the centre of which stood a grand concert of musicians, and upon the canton, or horns, sat the ladies, four at one corner and four at another, who descended upon the stage, downright perpendicular fashion, like a bucket into a well, but came gently slipping down. These eight, after the sacrifice was ended, represented the eight nuptial powers of *Juno Pronuba*, who came down to confirm the union. The men were clad in crimson and the women in white; they had every one a white plume of the richest herns' feathers, and were so rich in jewels upon their heads, as was most glorious. I think they hired and borrowed all the principal jewels and ropes of pearl, both in court and city. The Spanish Ambassador seemed but poor to the meanest of them. They danced all variety of dances, both severally and *promiscue;* and then the women took in men, as, namely, the Prince, who danced with as great perfection, and as settled a majesty, as could be devised; the Spanish Ambassador, the Archduke's Ambassador, the Duke, &c. And the men, gleaned of the Queen, the bride, and the greatest of the ladies."*

After the ceremony it was thought proper to separate the youthful pair till they had arrived at riper years. The young Earl was sent on his travels, while the bride remained at court with her

* Mr. Pory to Sir R. Cotton, Jan. 1606.—*Bishop Goodman's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 125.

mother, a lady whose indifferent morals rendered her totally unfit for such a charge. After an absence of nearly four years, Essex returned to England, full of natural eagerness to behold the young and beautiful creature whom he was to claim as his wife. Beautiful indeed she was, but so far was she from sharing his anxiety, that she had engaged her affections to another, and regarded with the utmost horror the prospect of passing her days with the homely Essex. Among her admirers she reckoned the favourite Somerset and Henry the heir to the throne. The Prince had been from the beginning extremely jealous of the favours which his father had heaped upon his pampered minion, and his antipathy was not diminished, when, on their becoming candidates for the favours of the same lady, his rival proved successful.* Essex, discovering that his person and matrimonial claims were treated with disdain, applied to the father of his bride to prevail on her to consummate the marriage. The consequence was, that she was obliged to accompany her husband into the country, where the manner in which she nightly exhibited her disgust must have been far from flattering to her unhappy Lord. Somerset had intimated to her that she would forfeit his affections, should she ever admit Essex to the privileges of a husband. The foul means which she made use of destroy her husband's physical powers are fully detailed by Arthur Wilson. That writer's evidence is supported by the extraor-

* Wilson, p. 55, 56.

dinary proofs and circumstances which were afterwards adduced at her trial.*

The object of the young Countess was to procure a divorce, in order that she might unite herself to the idol of her affections. In 1613, her uncle, the Earl of Northampton, applied to the King to this effect, alleging a natural infirmity on the part of Essex. The cause was heard, and having been decided in the lady's favour, Somerset lost no time in making her his bride. It was while these matters were in the course of agitation, that Overbury solemnly and affectionately forewarned his friend against the ruinous course which he was so blindly pursuing. He represented the impolicy of the action, the ridicule of the world, and that when he had made her his wife the shame which was attached to her character would reflect upon himself. He spoke of the criminal intercourse which had already taken place between them, and added, that as she had already deserted a husband for his sake, she might hereafter be induced to grant the same favours to another. He even went so far as to call her a "strumpet, and her mother and brother bawds,"† and to threaten that he would separate himself for ever from Somerset and his interests, should he disgrace their friendship by prosecuting so shameful an affair. Overbury was well qualified to give his advice on the occasion. He had a perfect knowledge of the lady's character, and had been

* State Trials, vol. i. † Weldon, p. 62; Coke, vol. i. p. 68.

employed throughout the intrigue; indeed, he had composed many exquisite letters and love-poems for Somerset, which had gone far in raising that excess of passion which afterwards led to murder and disgrace.

Somerset was weak enough to repeat to his paramour the conversation which had taken place. Her anger exceeded all bounds, and the unhappy Overbury was already devoted to destruction. After her marriage with Somerset she easily induced her infatuated husband to sacrifice his former friend.

About this period of our history it was almost compulsory to accept any office offered by the Crown. By this means the grossest oppression was frequently inflicted under the mask of kindness, and many a dangerous subject got rid of, under the semblance of an honourable appointment. In 1621 four of the most obnoxious members of parliament were joined in a commission, and despatched to Ireland, on the plea of important business; and two years afterwards we find a citizen of London, who had refused to contribute to a benevolence, ordered with the charge of letters ostensibly to proceed to the same country; this person was glad to make his peace for a hundred pounds.* Under similar circumstances an embassy to Russia was offered to the devoted Overbury. Somerset, who still maintained the appearance of friendship, advised him by all means to decline the honour,

* See Hume, vol. vi. p. 59, 80.

promising at the same time to justify his refusal to the King. Overbury was caught in the snare, and humbly petitioned his Majesty to select another representative, which Somerset interpreted to the King into gross disobedience and contempt of the royal authority; and Overbury was in consequence committed to the Tower, under directions to be more closely confined than was usual with prisoners of State.* Not only were his friends denied ad-

* This was not the first time that Overbury had paid a visit to the Tower. The circumstances of his previous commitment are related by Goodman:—"The Queen," he says, "was looking out of her window into the garden, where Somerset and Overbury were walking; and when the Queen saw them, she said, 'There goes Somerset and his governor,' and a little after Overbury did laugh. The Queen conceiving that he had overheard her, thought that they had laughed at her, whereupon she complained, and Overbury was committed. But when it did appear unto the Queen that they did not hear her, and that their laughter did proceed from a jest which the King was pleased to use that day at dinner, then the Queen was well satisfied, and he was released." It is evident, however, that Anne of Denmark had conceived a particular aversion towards Overbury's person. To the Earl of Salisbury she writes:—

My Lord,

The King hath told me that he will advise with you and some other four or five of the Council of *that fellow*. I can say no more, either to make you understand the matter or my mind, than I said the other day. Only I recommend to your care how public the matter is now, both in court and city, and how far I have reason in that respect. I refer the rest to this bearer, and myself to your love. Anna R.

—*Bishop Goodman's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 145. Other particulars might be inserted, which denote antipathy on the one side and insolence on the other.

mittance to him, but he was even refused the attendance of one of his own servants.*

Some days previously, Somerset had procured the appointment of one of his own creatures, Sir Jervis Elways, to be Lieutenant of the Tower; and now, leaguing with his abandoned wife and her uncle the Earl of Northampton, he entered into the atrocious project of poisoning his former friend. The principal agents in this horrible transaction were Sir Thomas Monson and a man of the name of Weston, whom the former had successfully recommended to Sir Jervis Elways.

The necessary poisons were provided by the famous Mrs. Turner, and inserted by Weston in the several dishes which were conveyed to the table of their victim. A suspicion, however, of these infamous proceedings at length entered the mind of the Lieutenant, who sent for Weston into his study, and so wrought upon his conscience, that he agreed to deceive his employers, and to deliver the poison into the Lieutenant's hands.† Sometimes particular dishes were sent by Somerset himself: these were

* Mr. John Chamberlain, on the 6th of May, 1613, thus writes to Sir R. Winwood:—"As I was closing this letter, I understand that Sir Robert Killigrew was yesterday committed to the Fleet, from the Council Table, for having some little speech with Sir Thomas Overbury, who called to him as he passed by his window, as he came from visiting Sir W. Raleigh.—*Winwood's Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 455.

† There is a somewhat different account of this interview in the "Five Years of King James," *supposed* to have been written by Lord Brooke. According to this authority, Sir Jervis

occasionally given to animals, which invariably died after having devoured them. The catastrophe being thus unaccountably delayed, a suspicion was excited in the minds of his employers that Weston was playing a double part. The Countess sent for him: reviled him for his treachery; and joining one Franklin with him in the horrid work, used such arguments as induced him to enter more vigorously on his task. On this occasion the Lieutenant is said to have been kept in the dark, though, in fact, he must have been well aware of his prisoner's sickness, and ought to have been fully aware of the cause. The two ruffians cautiously administered their deadly mixtures; and at last, finding him still hold out, applied a poisoned clyster, which eventually carried him off. According to other accounts, perceiving an eruption breaking out over his body, and fearing lest the symptoms might lead to detection, they released him from his agonies by smothering him in his bed.* His interment quickly followed; it being given out that he died of a loathsome disease, the nature of which prevented his body from being kept longer.†

From the time of Overbury's death, Somerset became a changed man. The beauty of person,

Elways was eventually wrought upon by the arguments and entreaties of Northampton to be an active agent in Overbury's murder.—*Harl. Misc.* vol. v. p. 376.

* Spotswood, p. 524; Journal of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, p. 8 and 13; Weldon, p. 65—70; Wilson in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 694.

† Wilson in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 694.

the lightness of heart, and the conciliating civility which had formerly distinguished him, were now no longer discoverable. Amid the glare and the splendour that surrounded him, he was a sullen and melancholy being. The still small voice of conscience was ever whispering in his ear; and though possessed of the wife whom he had chosen, though the sole favourite of his Sovereign, and the master of unbounded wealth, the envied Somerset became a burden to himself, and an object of dislike to the master he no longer was able to amuse.

All that James required was a decent excuse for deserting and destroying the man whom he had once loved. They were indeed a worthy pair. The appearance of George Villiers at court, in 1614, proved the most fatal blow to the fortunes of Somerset. His enemies, among the foremost of whom was the Queen herself, watched with extreme anxiety the rapid transfer of the royal affections: they saw that Somerset's reign was at an end, and began already to speculate on the character and disposition of his successor. James, naturally desirous of preserving some appearance of consistency, attempted the impracticable task of placing his old and new favourite upon a friendly footing. Sir Humphry May, a follower of Somerset's, was entrusted by James with the conduct of this delicate affair. He could not have fixed on a more proper person. A splendid act of friendship and generosity which he afterwards performed for Sir

Thomas Monson, when a prisoner and in distress, is a sufficient guarantee for his kindness of heart, and qualifications as a peace-maker.* May, having introduced himself into Somerset's presence, commenced by informing him that his rival was about to visit him with proffers of service and friendship. He used what arguments he could think of to reconcile the proud Earl, adding, "Your Lordship, though not the sole favourite, will still be a great man." Somerset exhibiting an extreme aversion to this singular arrangement, May then thought it right to acquaint him that he had come to make the overture by the King's express command. Somerset was silent, and shortly afterwards Villiers himself entered. A meeting between two such men, and under such circumstances, must indeed have been remarkable. Villiers, far different from the proud Buckingham of after life, was humility itself:—he came, he said, to be Somerset's creature and his dependant, and to gain preferment at court under his auspices; adding that he should always find him a faithful and obedient servant. The Earl's reply was brief and startling:—"Sir," he said, "I require none of your services, and I shall give you none of my favour:" adding, in the most undisguised manner, that he would ruin him if it ever lay in his power.†

Somerset was fully aware of his declining favour, and took his measures accordingly. Although,

* See Weldon, p. 105. † Weldon, p. 89.

with the exception of an accusation that he had embezzled some of the crown jewels, nothing had openly been laid to his charge, it is probable that he had received some hint that his share in Overbury's murder was about to transpire. He therefore made the best use of his remaining influence with the King, and obtained a full and ample pardon for any and all offences which he might heretofore have committed.* It is curious that the most important clause in the instrument was borrowed from a similar indulgence granted by the Pope to Cardinal Wolsey.† The pardon was signed by James without hesitation; but the Queen, who detested Somerset, had sufficient influence to prevent its passing the Great Seal until the return of the King, who was then absent in the West.‡

In the mean time, an apothecary's boy, who had been employed in composing the poisoned clyster, fell sick at Flushing, whither he had retired, and his conscience beginning to accuse him, he revealed all the circumstances connected with the destruction of Overbury which had come within his knowledge. James was at Royston when Sir Ralph Winwood was despatched to him, with the tale of his favourite's guilt. He instantly sent a messenger to the Lord Chief Justice, Sir Edward Coke, directing him to take measures for arresting

* Wilson, p. 81. † Rapin, vol. i. p. 188.
‡ Wilson, p. 81.

the Earl, who was that day to set out from London to join the royal party. When the officer of justice arrived at Royston, he found James with his arms round the neck of Somerset, who had arrived in the mean time, affecting to inquire anxiously, as he pressed him to his heart, how long it would be before he saw him again. Somerset was indignant at the idea of a peer being arrested in the presence of his sovereign: "Nay, man," said James, "if Coke sends for *me*, I must go." As soon as the Earl had departed, "Now the devil go with thee," said the King, "for I will never see thy face any more."* That very morning Somerset had conversed with Sir Henry Wotton respecting the prosperity of his affairs, and the brilliant course which he was still apparently destined to run: before night he was in the Tower.

The King's detestable hypocrisy and dissimulation are apparent throughout the whole of this transaction. Sir Edward Coke arriving the same day at Royston, James expressed the strongest determination to discover and punish the crime, without any respect of persons: he added, that if he pardoned any one of them, he *hoped God's curse might light on him and his posterity*. How far he respected this solemn imprecation is well known; nor is it the only instance in which he provoked the wrath of Heaven by his horrible contempt of truth. On one occasion, when a report was alluded to in the Star-

* Coke, p. 83.

chamber, that he was about to grant some immunities to the Papists, he protested to the Lords, "that he would spend the last drop of his blood before he would do so;" and prayed that, before any of his issue should maintain any other religion than that which they truly professed, God would take them out of the world.*

Somerset, on his arrival in London, was sent to the Tower, the Countess having shared the same fate during his progress from Royston. Their accomplices in the murder, Sir Jervis Elways, Weston, Franklin, and Mrs. Turner, were shortly condemned and executed. Sir Thomas Monson escaped punishment under circumstances which will be presently mentioned. Another of the party, Simon Mason, a servant of Monson's, was also brought into court, on the charge of having conveyed a poisoned tart to Overbury. The judge said to him, "Simon, you had a hand in this business?"—"No, my Lord," was the ready answer, "I had only a finger in it, which nearly cost me my life." In his way to the Tower, he had licked some of the sirup of the tart from his fingers, a circumstance which eventually saved him from hanging: it was argued, that he would scarcely have tasted what he knew to be poisoned.†

In the mean time, Somerset remained in the Tower, his enemies satisfying themselves of his guilt and condemnation long before they had been

* Harris's Lives, vol. i. p. 89. † Weldon, p. 98.

decided by the law. By a letter, dated 19th November 1615, about six months previous to his trial, a return was ordered to be made of his effects, with a view probably to their subsequent distribution among the hungry crew, who were anxiously awaiting the final catastrophe. A selection from the inventory has been recently published among the Loseley MSS. and evinces, by the splendour of the articles, what immense sums must have been lavished on this unworthy favourite. Whether from constitutional indifference, a confidence in the King's remaining affection, or from a consciousness of his own innocence, it is certain that Somerset endured with becoming dignity the strange vicissitude in his fortunes. "The Earl," writes a contemporary, "seems little to care for this aspersion, and shows no manner of change in his countenance; which is strange, seeing that by manifest proofs it is otherwise, which was delivered in public courts: but he knoweth not what is said or done abroad, being a close prisoner."*

The murder of Overbury has generally been traced to the sole circumstance of his having impugned the virtue of Lady Somerset. Admitting, however, that female indignation could proceed to such lengths as murder, is it probable that Somerset would have entered so warmly into his

* Letters from Sir J. Throckmorton to Mr. William Trumbull.—*Bishop Goodman's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 154.

wife's feelings, as to sacrifice for some intemperate expressions a once-loved friend, more especially when those very expressions originated solely in a regard for himself? A momentary and violent irritation may perhaps be allowed as natural; but would he have pursued his victim to the grave by a slow and merciless process of vengeance, scarcely equalled in the annals of crime? Moreover, is it probable, is it indeed possible, that Northampton, whose share in this detestable transaction is undoubted, and who was one of the coldest and most calculating men of his time, should have been influenced in the same unaccountable manner by his profligate niece? In a word, will common sense allow us to suppose, that such a man would have mixed himself up in a fearful crime, and have risked life, fortune, and reputation, merely because some unguarded words had been uttered, which he well knew to be true?

To what then, will naturally be asked, did Overbury owe his melancholy end? This needs an explanation which it is not so easy to afford, and the most that can be adduced, are some obscure and unsatisfactory conjectures. Certain it is, that Overbury was the depository of some important secrets, the discovery of which might have been fatal to the favourite, and that he was even foolish enough to threaten Somerset with a disclosure.* Many a dark rumour has floated down to us respecting

* Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 478.

the mysterious death of Prince Henry, in which the names of Somerset, Northampton, and Overbury, are not omitted. Undoubtedly it was of the most vital importance, both to Somerset and Northampton, that the prince should not survive his father. Preferment was sure to cease, and ruin certain to follow. The abhorrence with which Henry regarded the Suffolk and Northampton branches of the Howards, was scarcely exceeded even by his detestation of Somerset. Besides, the mere fact of these two noblemen being capable of committing one murder, renders it less unlikely that they would have been guilty of the other. At all events, it appears far more probable that they put Overbury out of the way, to ensure their own safety, than to avenge themselves on the detractor of a wife or a niece. The conduct, too, of the Countess appears less infamous, if we can suppose that, to the indignation of her sex, she added a redeeming anxiety to rescue her husband from approaching ruin. With regard to the general circumstances which threw suspicion over the death of Henry, they have already been introduced in the memoir of that lamented young prince.

Unfortunately it is impossible to investigate this embarrassing affair, without, in some degree, implicating the King himself. The late Charles Fox entertained a project of inquiring into the circumstances of Somerset's crime: in a letter to Lord Lauderdale, he writes,—"I recollect that the im-

pression upon my mind was, that there was more reason than is generally allowed for suspecting that Prince Henry was poisoned by Somerset, and that *the King knew of it after the fact.*" * This impression originated, without doubt, in Somerset's arrogance previous to his trial, as well as in the King's undisguised fear lest the Earl should enter into some unpleasant details when brought before his judges. Certain it is that Somerset had a secret in his keeping, which apparently saved his own life, and kept James in an unpleasant state of trepidation. Whether, however, it was connected with the death of the Prince, or whether, as Harris supposes, it was "the revealing that vice to which James seems to have been addicted," is not so easy to determine. There is a letter extant, addressed by Somerset to the King, in which he professes to pray for mercy;† but it conveys less of penitence than of expostulation and defiance. Somerset throughout affected to talk as if the King *dared* not sentence him to death; and it is even said, that he sent a message to James by the Lieutenant of the Tower, in which he threatened to reveal their secret should his pardon not be granted.‡ Hume, in his ingenious palliation of the King's conduct, speaks confidently of "his great remains of tenderness for Somerset." This remark is so far from being borne out by facts, that

* Life of James II. Preface, p. 49. † State Trials, vol. i.
‡ Kennet, vol. ii. p. 699; State Trials, vol. i.

James appears extremely anxious to get rid of his former favourite. Lord Bacon, who was then Attorney-General, and who must have been perfectly well aware of the King's feelings with respect to Somerset, in preparing his Majesty with arguments as to the probable results of the approaching trial, thus writes on the subject.—"The fourth case is that *which I should be very sorry should happen*, but it is a future contingent; that is, *if the peers should acquit him*, and find him Not Guilty." In this case, Lord Bacon recommends that Somerset should be remanded a close prisoner to the Tower, "there being," he adds, "many high and heinous offences (*though not capital*) for which he may be questioned in the Star Chamber."* If these "great remains of tenderness" really existed, is it likely that the politic Bacon would have expressed his hope of seeing Somerset hanged, and even recommended an unnecessary persecution in the event of his being acquitted?

According to Weldon, the criminal himself went so far, the day before the trial, as to express his determination not to appear in court, unless they dragged him there by force, and in his bed; adding, "that the King durst not bring him to trial." This menace, and the fear of disclosure, had such an effect with James, that he sent privately to Somerset, assuring him that if he behaved quietly and without insolence at his examination, his life should

* Cabala, p. 54.

be spared. This promise, however, was protracted to the last moment, the King being desirous of ascertaining privately the mode of defence which it was Somerset's intention to adopt at the trial. Not only were examining commissioners appointed, who constantly interrogated the prisoner, but James was mean enough, under the mask of affection, to employ other individuals, who used their utmost endeavours to entice Somerset to a confession of his plans. Had they succeeded, Somerset, in all probability, would have died on the gallows: he had, however, either received a hint on the subject, or was cunning enough to penetrate their design. So anxious was James to discover his intended plan of defence, that he employed Lord Bacon to anticipate every possible line of conduct which the criminal might adopt. Bacon writes to Sir George Villiers: — "I have received my letter from his Majesty with his marginal notes, which shall be my directions, being glad to perceive I understand his Majesty so well. That same little charm, which may be secretly infused into Somerset's ear some few hours before his trial, was excellently well thought of by his Majesty, and I do approve it, both in matter and time; only, if it seem good to his Majesty, I would wish it a little enlarged: for, if it be no more than to spare his blood, he hath a kind of proud humour which may overwork the medicine. Therefore, I could wish it were made a little stronger, by giving him some

hope that his Majesty will be good to his lady and child; and that time (when justice, and his Majesty's honour, is once saved, and satisfied) may produce further proof of his Majesty's compassion."*

The King's next step was to endeavour to entice Somerset to a confession, asserting that it would afford him a more favourable opportunity of exercising the royal prerogative of mercy: Somerset, however, was too guarded to be caught in the snare. The examining commissioners, who were fully aware of the King's anxiety on this point, thus report to his Majesty:—"Not to trouble your Majesty with circumstances of his answers, the sequel was no other, but that we found him still, not to come any degree further on to confess; only his behaviour was very sober, and modest, and mild; (*differing apparently from other times,*) but yet, as it seemed, resolved to expect his trial." The commissioners afterwards proceed:—"We have done our best endeavours to perform your Majesty's commission both in matter and manner, for the examination of *my* Lord of Somerset, wherein that which passed (for the general) was to this effect, that he was to know his own case, for that his day of trial could not be far off; but that this day's work was that which would conduce to your Majesty's justice little or nothing, but to your mercy much, if he did lay hold upon it, and therefore might do him good,

* Cabala, p. 36.

but could do him no hurt; for as to your justice, there had been taken great and grave opinion, not only of such judges as he may think violent, but of the saddest and most temperate in the kingdom, who ought to understand the state of the proofs, that the evidence was full to convict him, so as there needed neither confession, nor supply of examination. But for your Majesty's mercy, (although he were not to expect we should make any promise,) we did assure him that your Majesty was compassionate of him, if he gave you some ground whereon to work; that as long as he stood upon his innocency and trial, your Majesty was tied in honour to proceed according to justice, and that he little understood (being a close prisoner) how much the expectation of the world, besides your love to justice itself, engaged your Majesty, whatsoever your inclination were; but nevertheless, that a frank and clear confession might open the gate of mercy, and help to satisfy the point of honour."*

But that which has tended to throw a great additional light on these mysterious circumstances, is the existence of some remarkably curious letters, which have recently been published in a collection of the Loseley MSS. The editor informs us that they were discovered carefully preserved in an envelope, on which, in a hand-writing of the period, was a long note, part of which is as follows:—"These four letters were all of King James his own hand wryghtinge, sent to Sir George More, Liftennant of the

* Cabala, p. 38.

Tower (being put in to that place by his own apoyntment, without the privitie of any man) concerning my Lorde of Somorsett, whoe beinge in the Tower, and heringe that he should come to his arrayngment, *began to speak big wordes touching on the King's reputation and honour.* The King, therefore, desired, as mutch as he could, to make him confes the poysoninge of Sir Thomas Overberry, and so not to his arrayngment, but to cast himself on his mercy. But being a courtiour, and beaten to these courses, woold not; ffully imagininge that the King durst not, or woold not bryng him to his tryall," &c. And in another part of the envelope were added these words,—" Sir George More's my ffather in lawe's legacie, who in his lifetime made mutch account of these letters, being every word King James his own wryghtinge."

Sir George More, besides having been honoured with these confidential letters, had certainly one personal communication, if not more, with the King; and appears to have been not a little instrumental in dissuading Somerset from breaking out into invectives, or disclosing any unpleasant secrets, at his trial: it is asserted, moreover, that Sir George obtained 1500*l.* a-year for his management of this mysterious affair.* What renders these letters principally curious, is the manner in which they confirm the supposition that Somerset was really the master of secrets, which it was most important to James should be kept at all hazards

* Weldon, pp. 107, 108.

from the public. To prevent the possibility of such a catastrophe, it appears that James adopted the nicest precautions, and used every exertion in his power. He appoints one of his own confidants to be Somerset's keeper; he will not even employ a secretary in the correspondence which takes place between the Lieutenant and himself; he first endeavours to inveigle Somerset into a confession, and to induce him, by throwing himself on the royal mercy, to avoid a trial; and then, finding this manœuvre fail, he next attempts to persuade the world that the Earl is a lunatic. The first two letters, above alluded to, have reference principally to the King's most ardent wish, that Somerset should anticipate his trial by an admission of his offence. They evince also his great anxiety that Sir George should preserve their correspondence a profound secret. "Without the knowledge of any," writes James, "I have put you in that place of trust which you now possess, so must I now use your trust and secrecy *in a thing greatly concerning my honour and service.*" And in the next letter he adds, "You must not let him know that I have written unto you, but only that I sent you private word to deliver him this message:— *Let none living know of this.*" The two last and most remarkable letters are as follow:—

"Goode Sir George,

"I am extremely sorry that your unfortunate prisoner turns all the great care I have for him,

*not only against himself, but against me also, as far as he can. I cannot blame you, that you cannot conjecture what this may be, for God knows it is only a trikke of his idle braine, hoping thairby to shift his tryall;* but is easie to be seen that he wolde threattin me with laying an aspersion upon me of being in some sort accessorie to his crime, I can do no more (since God so abstracts his grace from him), than repeat the substance of that letter which Lord Haye sent you yesternighte, which is this: if he wolde write or send me any message concerning this poisoning, it needs not be private; if it be of any other busieness, that which I can not now with honoure receive privatly, I may do it after his tryall, and serve the turne as well; for except either his tryall or confession præcede, I cannot have a private message from him, without laying an aspersion on myselfe of being an accessorie to his cryme, and I praye you to urge him by reason, that I refuse him no favoure which I can graunte him, without taking upon me the suspicion of being guiltie of that cryme whereof he is accused, and so farewell, JAMES R."

"GOOD SIR GEORGE,

"For answer to your straunge newis, I am first to tell you, that I expecte the Lord Haye and Sir Robert Carr have been with you before this tyme, which if thaye have not yett bene doe ye sende for them in haste that they maye first heare him, before ye saye anything unto him, and when that is done,

if he shall still refuse to goe, [to trial], ye must doe your office, *except he be either apparently sick or distracted of his wittes*, in any of which cacis ye may acquaint the Chancellaire with it, that he may adjorne the day till Mondaye nexte, betwene and which tyme, if his sicknesse or madnesse be counterfitted, it will manifestlie appeare. In the meane tyme, I doubte not but ye have acquainted the Chancellair with this strainge fitte of his, and if upon these occasions ye bring him a little laiter than the houre appointed, the Chancellaire may in the mean tyme protracte the tyme the best he maye, whom I praye you to acquainte like wayes with this my ansoure, as well as with the accident, if he have saide any thinge of moment to the Lorde Haye, I expecte to hear of it with all speede; if other wayes, lett me not be troubled with it till the tryall be past. Fairwell. JAMES R."

Subscribed in another hand,

"To o^r^ trustie and weel belowed* Sir George More, knight, o^r^ leveten-ant of o^r^ Towre of London."

It was very doubtful, before the trial, whether the Crown had sufficient evidence to insure Somerset's conviction; indeed he was merely found guilty on the ground of some expressions which were discovered in a letter of his to Northampton: and yet James would not only force him to confess a crime,

* Loseley, MSS. p. 400.

of which he might possibly have been guiltless, but proceeds to such lengths to obtain this object, as to endeavour to induce Sir George More to be guilty of something very like a falsehood on the occasion. In one of his letters, the King writes to the Lieutenant,—"Ye will doe well of yourselfe to caste out unto him, that *ye feare his wyfe shall pleade weaklie for his innocence; and that ye finde the commissioners have, ye know not how, some secreate assurance that in the ende she will confesse of him;* but this must onlie be as from yourselfe:" surely this has every appearance of invention. It may be remarked that Lord Bacon, in embracing the different accidents which might occur at the trial, thus writes to the King:—"The second case is, if that fall out, (which is likest as things stand, and as we expect), which is that *the lady confess,* and that Somerset plead not guilty, and be found guilty."* Lord Bacon was right in both conjectures: the Countess, however, though she confessed her own crime, in no way implicated her husband.

Another circumstance, which throws suspicion on James, was the liberation of Sir Thomas Monson, who was to have been tried as an accomplice in Overbury's murder, but escaped after his arraignment. Coke, the Lord Chief Justice, was rash enough to observe, "That more would come out at his trial than the death of a private individual." He is even said to have exclaimed on the Bench,

* Cabala, p. 54.

"God knows what became of that sweet babe Prince Henry, but I know somewhat."* Certain it is that James took fright; that Monson obtained his liberty, and that Coke was disgraced.†

Somerset was brought to trial in Westminster Hall, May 25, 1616. During the whole of the day James is described as being in a painful state of agitation, — "sending to every boat he perceived landing at Whitehall, and *cursing* all that came without tidings." When word was at length brought him that the Earl was condemned, his agitation ceased. "This," Weldon says, "he had from Sir George More's own mouth." Somerset is described as being dressed on the occasion in "a plain black satin suit, his hair curled, his face pale, his beard long, and his eyes sunk in his head." He was also decorated with the George and Garter.‡ Weldon asserts, that two persons were placed behind him at his trial, whose instructions were to throw a cloak over his face, and carry him off, should he exhibit the slightest intention of implicating the King. He pleaded innocent; but the peers finding him guilty, he was sentenced to be carried to the Tower, and from thence to the place of execution, where he was to be hanged like a common criminal.§

Somerset, with his Countess, received at different

* Weldon, p. 114. † Wilson, p. 89.

‡ State Trials; Camden's Annals in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 645.

§ State Trials, vol. 1.

periods several reprieves. By an order in council, dated 18th January, 1622, they were finally liberated from confinement, though their lives were merely respited at the King's pleasure: it was also stipulated that they should reside in the country; one of Lord Wallingford's two seats in Oxfordshire (Grays and Caversham) being allowed them for choice. The order for their release is as follows:—

"Anno Dom. 1621. An. Reg. Jac. 19.
An order of the Privy Council,
Whitehall, 18th January, 1622.
Present.

| | |
|---|---|
| Lord Keeper, | Lord Digby, |
| Lord Treasurer, | Lord Brook, |
| Lord President, | Mr. Treasurer, |
| L. M. Hamilton, | Mr. Sec. Calvert, |
| Earl Marshall, | Mr. Chanc. Excheq. |
| L. Visc. Falkland, | Master of the Rolls. |

Whereas, His Majesty is graciously pleased to enlarge and set at liberty the Earl of Somerset and his Lady, now prisoners in the Tower of London; and that, nevertheless, it is thought fit that both the said Earl and his Lady be confined to some convenient place: It is therefore, according to his Majesty's gracious pleasure and command, ordered, that the Earl of Somerset and his Lady do repair either to Grays or Cowsham [Caversham], the Lord Wallingford's houses in the county of Oxon, and remain confined to one or either of the said

houses, and within three miles' compass of the same, until further order be given by his Majesty.*

At last, in 1624, about four months previous to the King's death, notwithstanding his Majesty's former solemn asseveration, they received a full pardon for their crime. In the reign of Charles the First, Somerset petitioned, though unsuccessfully, for the restoration of his estates.† The guilty pair resided together in a private and almost obscure condition. Their former passionate love was converted into abhorrence; and though inmates of the same house, they lived entirely separate and estranged.

James, whether from pity or some other cause, allowed his former favourite 4000*l.* a-year. Somerset was compelled, however, till he received his pardon, to hold the rents, which produced this income, in his servant's name; the law excluding him, as a condemned person, from being the ostensible possessor.‡

Somerset is said to have been assured by a fortune-teller, that if he should ever see the King's face again, he would certainly be reinstated in his former greatness.§ According to Arthur Wilson, James, in the latter part of his life, occasionally paid him a visit in his retreat. Bishop Burnet informs us, that when the King grew weary of Buckingham's insolence and contemptuous manner, he had serious intentions, of supplying his place with his old fa-

* Hearne's preface to Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle.

† State Trials, vol. i.; Wilson in Kennett, vol. ii. p. 699.

‡ Weldon, p. 111. § Ibid.

vourite. He adds, that their first meeting was in the gardens at Theobald's, where the King embraced Somerset tenderly, and shed many tears. "Somerset," adds Burnet, "told this to some from whom I had it."

It is remarkable that the great and virtuous Lord Russell was the grandson of Somerset and his abandoned Countess. The result of their ill-timed union was an only daughter, Anne, who became the wife of William Russell, Earl of Bedford, created a Duke in 1694. There is something interesting in her history. The union took place in the lifetime of the old Earl of Bedford, who had been in the habit of saying to his son, "Marry whom you will but a daughter of Somerset." Unfortunately, however, they met at court, and the son falling passionately in love with her, expressed his determination never to marry another. The Earl professed the greatest abhorrence at the idea of the match, and probably might never have relented but for the interference of Charles the First in favour of the lovers. The King's share in overcoming his prejudices is alluded to in a letter of the period. Mr. Garrard writes to the Earl of Strafford, 5th April, 1636. "The King lately sent the Duke of Lennox to my Lord of Bedford, to move him to give way to the marriage between my Lord Russell and the Lady Ann Carr, daughter to the Earl of Somerset, which he should take well at his hands. The love between them hath been

long taken notice of, though discreetly and closely carried; for his father gave him, as I take it, leave and liberty to choose in any family but in that: but marriages are made in Heaven."*

The old Earl at length gave a reluctant consent; and in 1637 they were married. He had no reason to regret his having relented. Some time afterwards he was seized with the small-pox; and though deserted by his own children, the lady Anne remained with him and nursed him like a daughter. She caught the disorder, and lost her beauty. It is said, that after she grew up, she discovered the account of her parents' infamy in a book; but that she was happily so ignorant of the facts, as to look upon them as mere calumnies.† She died in 1684, aged 63.

This account of his daughter enables us to relate a redeeming trait in the character of Somerset. Among other expedients which had been adopted by the old Lord Bedford to prevent his son's marriage, he had insisted on the sum of twelve thousand pounds being deposited as the marriage portion of Anne Carr. It was an immense sum to Somerset, who possessed little except his residence at

* Strafford Letters, vol. ii. p. 2.

† There is, however, another account, that when she met with the passage respecting the guilt of her parents, she fell down in a fit, and was discovered senseless with the book before her. There is a half-length picture of her at Woburn, by Vandyke, in which she is painted, dressed in blue, drawing on her gloves. Pennant's Journey from Chester to London, p. 494.

Chiswick. However, he sold house, plate, and jewels, in order to make up the amount. "Since her affections are settled," he said, "I would ruin myself rather than make her unhappy."* Such an action goes far to redeem the name of Somerset from utter obloquy, and for the credit of human nature should not remain untold. How truly has it been said by the Poet,—

> None are all evil,—quickening round the heart,
> Some softer feeling will not quite depart!

The curse of Somerset was his choice of a wife. We are assured that by nature he was of a "mild and affable disposition," and might have been a good man if he had not met with such a woman. Wilson says of his person that he was "rather compact than tall; his features and favour comely and handsome rather than beautiful; the hair of his head flaxen; that of his face tinctured with yellow of the Sycambrian colour." Weldon speaks of him as "handsome and well-bred;" and even asserts that, previously to his elevation, he had passed his time in study, and in the society of eminent men. He must have been nearly sixty at the time of his death,† which took place in July 1645. His remains were interred in the Parish Church of St. Paul's, Covent Garden.

* Brit. Biog. vol. iii. p. 534.

† His birth is commonly fixed in 1588, which would make him in his fifty-eighth year at the time of his decease, and only twenty-one at his first appearance at court.

# FRANCES HOWARD,

## COUNTESS OF SOMERSET.

Revolting Character of this Woman.—The Earl of Suffolk, her Father—Her Beauty—her Marriage to the Earl of Essex.—Character of the Earl.—The Countess's love for, and clandestine Meetings with, Somerset—her Expedients to procure a Divorce—her Agents, Mrs. Turner and Dr. Forman, the Astrologer.—Death of Forman.—Trial and Execution of Mrs. Turner.—Sir Jervis Elways.—Trial for Divorce between the Earl and Countess of Essex.—Arguments for and against the Divorce by King James and the Archbishop of Canterbury.—Retirement of Essex to Chartley.—Marriage of the divorced Countess to Essex—her Trial for the Murder of Overbury—her Appearance in Court—her Sentence.—Estrangement between her and her Husband—her Death.

THERE is something fearful and revolting in the history of this titled murderess. Man, from his sterner nature, and by a long communion with vice and crime, may at last become so callous to all better feelings, as to be induced to shed the blood of a fellow-creature. Women also, among the low and uneducated, impelled by the pinchings of poverty or the rankling of revenge, may be hurried forward to commit violence against nature, and to heap infamy on their sex. But, that the young, the beautiful, and delicately-nurtured Frances Howard, to whom the world had been all smiles and success and kindness, should have set herself

deliberately and mercilessly to take away the life of another, is a fact so unparalleled and unnatural, that were it not proved beyond all doubt, it could only be regarded as an improbable fiction.

Frances Howard was the eldest daughter of Thomas Earl of Suffolk, a man of indifferent character and moderate talent. The Earl was Chancellor of the University of Cambridge: when the Orator of the University, at his inauguration, addressed him, as was usual, in a Latin speech, he informed the Senate that he did not understand what was said; however, he added, as he concluded they meant to welcome him, he begged to assure them in return, that he would advance their interests as much as lay in his power.*

As his daughter, the Lady Frances, was only thirteen years of age, at the time of her marriage with the Earl of Essex, in January, 1606, she must have been born about the year 1593. Sir Symonds d'Ewes was assured by one Captain Field, a "faithful votary of her father, the Earl of Suffolk, that he had known her from her childhood, and had ever observed her to be of *the best nature and sweetest disposition of all her father's children,* exceeding them all also in the delicacy and comeliness of her person." This individual attributed to the advice and influence of her uncle, Northampton, the wretched course of life into which she afterwards fell. There can be no doubt that she was eminently beautiful. Arthur

* Lloyd's State Worthies, vol. ii. p. 80.

Wilson, who speaks of her character with abhorrence, almost appears to relent, when he tells us of her sweet and bewitching countenance.

It may be doubted whether it was in the nature of Essex to insure the happiness of any woman. He was a cold and unbending republican, and, probably, like most of that cast, a tyrant in domestic life. He possessed neither elegance of mind nor manners, and his features were as rough as his disposition; a strange contrast to his unfortunate father. It is remarkable that both his wives transferred their affections to other men. His second lady, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Pawlet, fixed her regards on a Mr. Udal or Uvedale, and Essex separated from her in consequence.* The circumstance of his having a child by his second wife is in contradiction to the common belief of his connubial incapacity. We are informed in the Aulicus Coquinariæ, that he was always observed to avoid the company of ladies, and "so much neglect his own, that to wish a maid into a mischief was to commend her to my Lord of Essex." Wilson was resident in the house at the period of the Earl's marriage with Elizabeth Pawlet. "I must confess," he says, in his Memoir of himself, "she appeared to the eye a beauty, full of harmless sweetness; and her conversation was affable and gentle." Wilson did not always find her so very affable; for she afterwards refused to quit her chamber unless he was dismissed from

* Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. ii. p. 92.

her husband's establishment. He thus alludes to her frailty,—"Within two years, this malicious piece of vanity, unworthy of so noble a husband (being found in another's adulterous arms), was separated from him, to her eternal reproach and infamy."*

Such a man as Essex was certainly ill suited to the beautiful, flattered, and passionate Frances Howard. Previously, however, to the Earl's return from abroad, whither he had been sent after their youthful marriage, she had met, and fallen violently in love with the favourite Somerset. The guilty pair were accustomed to meet at the house of Mrs. Turner, either at Hammersmith, or Paternoster Row.† Occasionally also their appointments were at the residence of one Coppinger, a person remarkable only for the indifference of his character.‡

The exertions of the young Countess to procure a divorce from her husband were at least as unwearying, as her expedients were ingenious. The account which Arthur Wilson gives of this part of her history is too singular to be altogether omitted, though a considerable portion is unfit for detail:—"The Countess of Essex," he says, "having her heart alienated from her husband, and set upon the Viscount, had a double task to undertake for accomplishing her ends. One was to hinder her husband from enjoying her; the other was to make the Vis-

* Desid. Curiosa, lib. 12. pp. 16, 17.

† Journal of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, p. 5. ‡ Weldon, p. 60.

count sure unto her; for dishonest love is most full of jealousy. Her husband she looked upon as a private person; and to be carried by him into the country, out of her element (being ambitious of glory, and a beauty covetous of applause,) were to close, as she thought, with an insufferable torment; though he was a man that did not only every way merit her love, but he loved her with an extraordinary affection, having a gentle, mild, and courteous disposition, specially to women, such as might win upon the roughest natures.* But this fiery heat of his wife's, mounted upon the wings of lust, or love (call it what you will), carried her after so much mischief, that those that saw her face might challenge nature of too much hypocrisy, for harbouring so wicked a heart under so sweet and bewitching a countenance.

"To strengthen her designs, she finds out one of her own stamp, Mrs. Turner, a doctor of physic's widow, a woman whom prodigality and looseness had brought low; yet her pride would make her fly any pitch, rather than fall into the jaws of want. These two consult together how they might stop the current of the Earl's affection towards his wife, and make a clear passage for the Viscount in his place. To effect which, one Dr. Forman, a reputed conjurer (living at Lambeth), is found out: the

* This high praise must be attributed to the zeal of Wilson for the honour of his patron. He was the faithful follower and intimate acquaintance of the Earl.

women declare to him their grievances: he promises sudden help; and to amuse them, frames many little pictures of brass and wax; some like the Viscount and Countess, whom he must unite and strengthen; others like the Earl of Essex, whom he must debilitate and weaken; and then with philtrous powders, and such drugs, he works upon their persons. And to practise what effects his art would produce, Mrs. Turner, that loved Sir Arthur Manwaring (a gentleman then attending the Prince), and willing to keep him to her, gave him some of the powder, which wrought so violently with him, that through a storm of rain and thunder he rode fifteen miles one dark night to her house, scarce knowing where he was till he was there. Such is the devilish and mad rage of lust, heightened with art and fancy.

"These things, matured and ripened by this juggler Forman, gave them assurance of happy hopes. Her courtly incitements, that drew the Viscount to observe her, she imputed to the operation of those drugs he had tasted; and that harshness and stubborn comportment she expressed to her husband, making him (weary of such entertainments) to absent himself, she thought proceeded from the effects of those unknown potions and powders that were administered to him. So apt is the imagination to take impressions of those things we are willing to believe.

"The good Earl, finding his wife nouseled in the

Court, and seeing no possibility to reduce her to reason till she were estranged from the relish and taste of the delights she sucked in there, made his condition again known to her father. The old man being troubled with his daughter's disobedience, embittered her being near him with wearisome and continual chidings, to wean her from the sweets she doted upon, and with much adoe forced her into the country. But how harsh was the parting, being sent away from the place where she grew and flourished! Yet she left all her engines and imps behind her: the old doctor, and his confederate Mrs. Turner, must be her two supporters. She blazons all her miseries to them at her depart, and moistens the way with her tears. Chartley was an hundred miles from her happiness; and a little time thus lost is her eternity. When she came thither, though in the pleasantest part of the summer, she shut herself up in her chamber, not suffering a beam of light to peep upon her dark thoughts. If she stirred out of her chamber, it was in the dead of the night, when sleep had taken possession of all others, but those about her. In this implacable, sad, and discontented humour, she continued some months, always murmuring against, but never giving the least civil respect to her husband, which the good man suffered patiently, being loth to be the divulger of his own misery; yet having a manly courage, he would sometimes break into a little passion, to see himself slighted and

neglected by himself; but having never found better from her, it was the easier to bear with her."*

Forman, the wizard or astrologer, who is here mentioned, though undoubtedly a rogue, was far superior in learning and ingenuity to the common mountebanks of his time. He was an excellent chemist, possessed considerable skill in astronomy and mathematics, and was indefatigable in his thirst after knowledge. He was born 30th of December, 1552, and at six years old is said to have been troubled with strange dreams and visions. When he arrived at fourteen, his father being dead, he bound himself apprentice to a grocer and apothecary at Salisbury, where he first obtained an insight into the nature of drugs. He endeavoured to improve his mind by reading; but his master, imagining, perhaps, that it interfered with his duties, deprived him of his books: however, Forman's bedfellow was a boy who daily received instruction at a school in Salisbury, and from him he nightly elicited what the other had learnt during the day. At the age of eighteen he established a small school for himself; and having by this means realized a paltry sum of money, he set out for Oxford, where he entered himself a poor scholar of Magdalene College. After a residence of two years he again turned school-master, and began to study magic, astronomy, and physic. He now thought it necessary

* Wilson, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 687.

to travel, and having visited Portugal and the East, set up as a physician in Philpot Lane, London; however, not having properly graduated, he was much annoyed by the legitimate practisers, and was four times imprisoned and once fined. On the 27th of June 1603, having been some time resident in Jesus College, Cambridge, he obtained his degree of Doctor of Physic and Astronomy from that University. From this period he settled himself at Lambeth, where he practised his profession unmolested; pretending, moreover, to the hidden art, and duping his fellow-creatures with all the paraphernalia of horoscopes, amulets, nativities, and the philosopher's stone. "He was a person," says Anthony Wood, "that in horary questions, especially theft, was very judicious and fortunate; so, also, in sickness, which was indeed his masterpiece; and had good success in resolving questions about marriage, and in other questions very intricate. He professed to his wife that there would be much trouble about Sir Robert Carr Earl of Somerset, and the Lady Frances his wife, who frequently resorted to him, and from whose company he would sometimes lock himself in his study one whole day. He had compounded things upon the desire of Mrs. Anne Turner, to make the said Sir Robert Carr, calid *quo ad hanc*, and Robert Earl of Essex frigid *quo ad hanc*, that is to his wife the Lady Frances, who had a mind to get rid of him and be wedded to the said Sir Robert. He had

also certain pictures in wax, representing Sir Robert and the said Lady, to cause a love between each other, with other such like things." It may be here remarked that these waxen images, as well as the Countess's indelicate letters to Forman, were produced in open court at her trial.* There was also exhibited a written parchment drawn up by Forman, "signifying what ladies loved what lords at court;" but this the Lord Chief Justice would not allow to be read. It appeared that his own wife was one of the number.

The death of the astrologer is curious. Wood says, "I have been informed by a certain author, that the Sunday night before Dr. Forman died, he, the said Forman, and his wife being at supper in their garden-house, she told him in a pleasant humour, that she had been informed that he could resolve whether man or wife should die first, and asked him, 'whether I shall bury you or no?'— 'Oh!' said he, 'you shall bury me, but thou wilt much repent it.' Then said she: 'How long will that be?' to which he made answer, 'I shall die before next Thursday night be over.' The next day being Monday, all was well; Tuesday came and he was not sick; Wednesday came, and still he was well; and then his impertinent wife did twit him in the teeth with what he had said on Sunday. Thursday came, and dinner being ended he was well, went down to the water side, and took a pair

* State Trials, vol. i.

of oars to go to some buildings he was in hand with at Puddle Dock; and being in the middle of the Thames, he presently fell down, and only said: 'an impost, an impost,' and so died; *whereupon a most sad storm of wind immediately followed.*"* In the life of Lilly, the astrologer, there is an interesting account of this memorable cheat. He is said to have been extremely kind to the poor. According to Lilly, the following entry was found in one of Forman's books:—"This I made the devil write with his own hands, in Lambeth Fields, 1596."

Anne Turner, another agent of the Countess in her detestable practices, as has been already mentioned, was the widow of a physician, and had seen better times; but, considering crime preferable to poverty, was easily enlisted in the dark designs of her mistress. She was a woman of great beauty, and remarkable in the world of fashion as having introduced yellow starch in ruffs. When Coke, the Lord Chief Justice, sentenced her to death for her share in the murder of Overbury, he added the strange order, that "as she was the person who had brought yellow starched ruffs into vogue, she should be hanged in that dress, that the same might end in shame and detestation." He told her also that she was guilty of the seven deadly sins; namely, that she was a whore, a bawd, a sorcerer, a witch, a papist, a felon, and a murderer.† Sir

* Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. i. p. 371.

† State Trials, vol. i. p. 230.

Symonds D'Ewes informs us that she appeared at her trial in the fashion which she had introduced, which may account for the order issued by the judge. Even the hangman who executed this wretched woman was decorated with yellow ruffs on the occasion; no wonder therefore that the fashion shortly grew to be generally detested and disused, which Sir Symonds informs us was the case. There is a wood-cut of Mrs. Turner attached to her dying speech and confession, preserved in the Library of the Antiquarian Society. She was executed at Tyburn, 15th November, 1615, and according to Camden, in his Annals, died a "true penitent." Indeed, we have evidence that her demeanour on the scaffold excited the commiseration of the bystanders. A Mr. John Castle writes to Mr. James Milles, 28th November, 1615, —"Since I saw you, I saw Mrs. Turner die. If detestation of painted pride, lust, malice, powdered hair, yellow bands, and the rest of the wardrobe of court vanities,—if deep sighs, tears, confessions, ejaculations of the soul, admonitions of all sorts of people to make God and an unspotted conscience always our friends,—if the protestation of faith and hope to be washed by the same Saviour and the like mercies that Mary Magdalene was, be signs and demonstrations of a blessed penitent, then I will tell you that this poor broken woman went *a cruce ad gloriam*, and now enjoys the presence of her and our Redeemer. Her body being taken down by her

brother, one Norton, servant to the Prince, was, in a coach, conveyed to St. Martin's of the Fields, where, in the evening of the same day, she had an honest and a decent burial."* In a poem of the period, entitled Overbury's Vision, Mrs. Turner is eulogised in some verses, of which the poetry is as beautiful as the sentiment is misplaced :—

The roses on her lovely cheeks were dead;
The earth's pale colour had all overspread
Her sometime lively look; and cruel Death,
Coming untimely with his wintry breath,
Blasted the fruit, which, cherry-like, in show,
Upon her dainty lips did whilom grow.
O how the cruel cord did misbecome
Her comely neck! and yet by law's just doom
Had been her death. Those locks, like golden thread,
That used in youth to enshrine her globe-like head,
Hung careless down; and that delightful limb,
Her snow-white nimble hand, that used to trim
Those tresses up, now spitefully did tear
And rend the same; nor did she now forbear
To beat that breast of more than lily white,
Which sometime was the bed of sweet delight.
From those two springs where joy did whilom dwell,
Grief's pearly drops upon her pale cheek fell.†

A rather remarkable story is told respecting Sir Jervis Elways, who also died on the gallows for his share in Overbury's death. He had been a fellow-commoner of St. John's College Cambridge, and had presented a silver bowl to that community. On the day, and, as it is said, on the very hour

* Bishop Goodman's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 146.
† Harl. Misc. vol. iii. p. 355.

of his execution, the bowl fell down and broke asunder. Sir Symonds D'Ewes, who was afterwards a fellow-commoner of St. John's, assures us that he was credibly informed of the fact. Elways had at one period of his life been a great gambler; but having lost a large sum of money at a sitting, he made a solemn vow to his Maker that he would never commit the vice again; adding a hope, that if he did so he might come to be hanged. He neglected his vow, and recalled the circumstance at the last. "Now God," he said, "hath paid my imprecation home."*

To return to the Countess. Essex, wearied with the perpetual proofs of hatred and disgust which she exhibited towards him, and perhaps somewhat suspecting the anti-philtrous regimen to which he had been long insensibly subjected, at length fell in with her views for the procurement of a divorce. Bishop Goodman throws some curious light on this particular passage in the annals of crime. "I may herein," he says, "speak my certain knowledge concerning the nullity of the marriage between the Earl of Essex and his lady. About a year or two before the marriage was questioned, I did hear from a gentleman belonging to the Earl of Huntingdon, but very well known, and a great servant to the Earl of Essex, that the Earl of Essex was fully resolved to question the marriage, and to prove a nullity; and I am confident

* Wilson in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 699.

that if the Countess had not then at that instant done it, the Earl of Essex himself would have been the plaintiff; so then, I hereby conclude that both parties were agreed and were alike interested in the business." The Bishop also, (on the authority of the minister of Chiswick, who afterwards attended the Countess on her death-bed) assures us that she solemnly protested "on her soul and salvation," that the marriage between her and the Earl of Essex had never been consummated.

A petition was eventually drawn up, and presented to the King by Northampton, in which the Countess complained of her husband's incapacity to consummate the marriage, and requested that her grievance might be investigated, and if the charge should be found correct, that she might be set at liberty to unite herself with another. The cause was accordingly directed to be heard by the bishops, and others, who were joined together in a commission. A jury of matrons and midwives was also appointed, on whose report it was necessary that the judges should be principally guided in their verdict. The Countess strongly objected, on the plea of bashfulness, to the private investigation for which the female tribunal had been selected, and thus obtained permission to appear completely veiled during the ceremony. By this artifice, a young lady is said to have been introduced, whose conduct having been more immaculate than that of the Countess, enabled the matrons to give their

decision in her favour. The Earl of Essex was next examined by the judges; and though he admitted his insufficiency as regarded his wife, yet maintained that it was confined to her alone. The judges themselves must have been well aware of the scandalous reports which were prevalent respecting the lady's character. Indeed, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, although nominated in the patent, absented themselves altogether at the latter part of the proceedings. Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, however, was so warm in his exertions to procure the divorce, that his son was afterwards knighted: the latter by this means obtained the ludicrous title of Sir Nullity Bilson.*

A written answer to the objections against the divorce, was drawn up by the King himself, who took a deep interest in the proceedings. This document, which will be found in the State Trials, abounds in pedantic absurdities, but is principally remarkable from an argument maintained by James, that a man might be *impotens versus hanc*, while at the same time he was *potens versus alias*. This gave rise to a facetious remark, that the Earl's case was "parallel to that of the man whose stomach could digest everything but Bagshot mutton."† The arguments of the Archbishop of Canterbury (Abbot), which had given rise to the King's reply, are nearly as pedantic as those of his Majesty.

* Wilson in Kennet, vol. i. p. 692. † Granger, vol. ii. p. 173.

This trial is not a little remarkable, when we consider that a cause which was more fit to be discussed in a brothel, was argued before the dignitaries of the church;—that a King was the supporter of one side, and an Archbishop of the other;—and, moreover, that the verdict hung upon a particular objection, the validity of which, considering the personal charms of the plaintiff, none but a very cold or a very ignorant man could possibly have acknowledged.

Essex, in order to repay the marriage portion of five thousand pounds, was forced to cut down timber at his seat at Adderston, and would even have been compelled to sell land, had not his grandmother, the Countess of Leicester, come forward and assisted him.* He retired to his venerable castle of Chartley in Staffordshire, where he endeavoured to forget the ridicule of the world in the sports of the field. His mode of living at Chartley is fully described by Arthur Wilson in his life of himself.†

The marriage of the lady and her paramour was solemnized at Whitehall, on the 26th December 1613, and was an exhibition of greater magnificence than had ever been witnessed in England at the espousals of a subject. The King, the Queen, and the principal persons of the court were present at the ceremony; but it did not tend to si-

* Five years of King James; Harl. Misc. vol. v. p. 379.

† Desiderata Curiosa, vol. ii. lib. xii. p. 6.

lence the whisperings of scandal, when it was seen that the bride had the effrontery to stand at the altar in the dress of a virgin. Previously to the ceremony, Somerset, who had been hitherto merely Viscount Rochester, was created an earl, in order that the countess might not lose rank in the transfer of her hand.

"Whitehall," says Coke "was too narrow to contain the triumphs of this marriage, and they must be extended into the city." Accordingly, on the 4th of January, the bride and bridegroom, attended by the Duke of Lennox, the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Chamberlain, and a numerous train of the nobility, proceeded in great state to the city. A magnificent entertainment was prepared for them in Merchant Taylors' Hall. The music struck up as they entered. Speeches of congratulation were delivered, and the mayor and aldermen came forward in their scarlet gowns to do honour to the favourite and his bride. At the sumptuous banquet which followed, they were waited on by the choicest citizens from the twelve companies. After supper, there were plays, masks, and dancing, and, late at night, the rejoicings were concluded with a second feast. At three o'clock in the morning, the bride and bridegroom returned to Whitehall."* Thus does the world worship the rising sun. Within a little more than two years, these two envied and glittering beings were the inmates of a

* Coke, vol. i. p. 70.

prison; deprived of fortune, flattery, and circumstance, and narrowly escaping a death of infamy by the hands of the common executioner.

But all the world were not so complaisant as the citizens of London. Their ill-fated marriage drew down upon them much reviling and many libels; and, among other pasquinades, the two following anagrams were very current at the time. The reign of James was the age of such conceits.

Frances Howard,
Carr finds a whore.

Thomas Overburie,
O, O, busie murther.

In perusing the history of the Countess of Somerset, it is necessary to bear in mind one important fact. At the period of her marriage with Somerset, and of the subsequent death of Overbury, —comprising the most atrocious murder, and the most disgraceful narrative of infamy, that has been recorded in modern times,—this unhappy creature could not possibly have exceeded her twenty-first year. That Overbury disliked her character, and defamed it to others besides Somerset, is very possible. Weldon says, that "if one of her brothers, or any of her kindred, had challenged and killed him in fair combat, the world would readily have exonerated them." But the expedients to which she had recourse would have been atrocious in a savage. Sir Symonds d'Ewes relates, that "on one

occasion she offered a thousand pounds to Sir Daniel Wood, a follower of Anne of Denmark, and an enemy of Overbury's, if either by duel or assassination he would put her detractor out of the way." Wood told her, that "he had no objection to bastinado him, but that he was unwilling to be sent to Tyburn for any lady's pleasure." While in prison she is described as "very pensive and silent, and much grieved."*

She was tried for the murder of Overbury, 24th May 1616, in Westminster Hall. On entering the Hall the ceremony of carrying the axe before her was omitted. First came the Chancellor, who acted as Lord High Steward, upon horseback. He was followed by his attendants and several peers. Then came six Serjeants-at-law, the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, the Seal-bearers, and the White Staff. Two barons (Russell and Norris), and two knights, terminated the procession. She stood pale and trembling at the bar, and during the reading of the indictment covered her face with her fan. She pleaded guilty to the crime; but beseeched the Peers to intercede for her with the King, with so many tears, and in such extreme anguish, that the bystanders were unable to refrain from commiseration.† The sentence was that she should be conveyed to the Tower, and from thence to the

* Bishop Goodman's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 155.

† Camden's Annals, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 645; State Trials, vol. i.

place of execution, where she was to be hung by the neck, &c.*

The wretched existence which she eventually passed with her husband has been already alluded to in the memoir of the Earl. The estrangement between them, though widened by mutual hatred, was rendered even necessary by an injury which she had sustained in giving birth to her only daughter.† The disease of which she died was as horrible as her crime, but the details are too loathsome for insertion.‡ Walpole informs us, in his Anecdotes of Painting, that in 1762 her escutcheon still remained entire in the beautiful parish church of Walden. She died in 1632, at the age of thirty-nine.

* State Trials, vol. i. † Journal of Sir S. d'Ewes, p. 15.
‡ See Wilson, p. 83.

# HENRY HOWARD,

## EARL OF NORTHAMPTON.

Birth of Henry Howard — his Relations — his Advancement at Court.—Prediction of an Italian Astrologer: its Fulfilment. —Character of the Earl—his Share in Overbury's Murder.— his Letters to Sir Jervis Elways.—Anomalies of his Nature— his Literary Works—his Religion. — Detection of his secret Correspondence with Cardinal Bellarmine — his Death — his Bequest to the King.

This unamiable personage was born at Shottisham, in Norfolk, about the year 1539. He was the brother of that Duke of Norfolk who lost his head in the cause of the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots, and the second son of the lamented Earl of Surrey, the darling of poetry, of learning, and romance. He was educated at King's College, and afterwards at Trinity Hall, Cambridge.* During the reign of Elizabeth he had met with little favour, but at the accession of James had no reason to complain of neglect. In May 1603 he was made a Privy Councillor; in January following, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports; in March, Baron of Marnhill, and Earl of Northampton; and

* Wood's Fasti, vol. ii. p. 102; Brydges' Peers of England, vol. ii. p. 237.

in April 1608, Lord Privy Seal, and was honoured with the Garter. In 1609 he was made High Steward of the University of Oxford, and in 1612 Chancellor of Cambridge. James had not forgotten the misfortunes of the Howards in the cause of his mother.

Northampton related a curious story to his secretary, one George Penny. When a mere infant, it had been predicted to his father, by an Italian astrologer, that in middle life his son would be reduced to such a state of poverty as to be in want of a meal, but that in his old age his wealth would be abundant. When the prediction was made, that a Howard should ever be poor, appeared at least to be extremely improbable; but the fact, nevertheless, came to pass. By the execution of the Duke of Norfolk, and the forfeiture of his estate, his family became so impoverished, that the Earl, to use the phrase of his biographer, was often fain to dine with Duke Humphrey: those hours, during which others were enjoying the luxury of the table, were frequently employed by the hungry Earl in poring over the contents of the booksellers' stalls in St. Paul's Churchyard.* The unmeasured favours which were afterwards heaped upon him by James, abundantly fulfilled the prophecy.†

* During the reign of James, the neighbourhood of St. Paul's, and especially the body of the church itself, were the resort of all the idlers and scandal-mongers of the day. The latter place was styled Paul's Walk, and its frequenters Paul-walkers.

† Lloyd's State Worthies, vol. ii. p. 68.

The Earl was one of those mistaken dreamers, who are ever fancying that the world is their dupe, while in reality they deceive no one but themselves. The delusion lasted through a long life of contemptible cunning and clumsy intrigue. Flattery and dissimulation were his tools, but they must have been awkwardly handled; for his motives and his character were seen through by all. Lady Bacon, the mother of Sir Francis, anxiously forewarns her sons against keeping his society: "He is," she says, "a dangerous intelligencing man; no doubt a subtle Papist, inwardly, and lieth in wait." Again, she adds: "Avoid his familiarity, as ye love the truth and yourself. Pretending courtesy, he worketh mischief perilously. I have long known him and observed him. His workings have been stark naught."* Rowland White, also, thus writes to Sir Robert Sydney: "Lord Harry is held a ranter; and I pray you take heed of him, if you have not already gone too far."† In the Five Years of King James, he is spoken of as "famous for secret insinuation and for cunning flatteries;" and Weldon tells us, that "though not a wise man, he was the greatest flatterer in the world." If ever he was surpassed in this despicable art, it was by one of his own adulators, when he said of him, "that he was the most learned amongst the noble, and the most noble amongst the learned." Unfortunately

* Bacon Papers, vol. ii. p. 501.

† Sydney Papers, vol. ii. p. 129.

this fulsome compliment was paid to him by a bishop, who for sixteen years was kept in the indifferent see of Llandaff, and who, without doubt, had an eye to translation.*

A long career of folly and artifice was followed by an old age of infamy and crime. He had actually completed his seventieth year, when he became a pander to the dishonour of his own niece in her adulterous intrigue with Somerset. After a lapse of threescore years and ten, the hope of further aggrandizement, and an innate love of intrigue, continued to be the main-spring and the curse of his existence. Of his subsequent share in Overbury's murder not the remotest doubt can exist. He is even said to have been the author of the infamous plot, by which Overbury was offered, and induced to refuse, the embassy to Russia, and thus fell under the King's displeasure.† But the following letters, the originals of which are preserved in the Cotton Library, will be considered sufficient to establish his guilt. They are addressed to Sir Jervis Elways, the Lieutenant of the Tower:—

"WORTHY MR. LIEUTENANT,

"My Lord of Rochester desiring to do the last honour to his deceased friend, requires me to de-

* Wood's Fasti, vol. i., p. 102.

† Journal of Sir S. D'Ewes, p. 5. On the scaffold, Sir Jervis Elways passionately accused Northampton of having "drawn him into the villany, which brought him to that shameful end." —*Bishop Goodman's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 154.

sire you to deliver the body of Sir Thomas Overbury to any friend of his that desires it, to do him honour at his funeral. Herein my Lord declares the constancy of his affection for the dead, and the meaning that he had in my knowledge, to have given his strongest strain at this time of the King's being at Theobald's, for his delivery. I fear no impediment to this honourable desire of my Lord's but the unsweetness of the body, because it was reported that he had some issues, and in that case the keeping of him must needs give more offence than it can do honour. My fear is also, that the body is already buried upon that cause whereof I write; which being so, it is too late to set out solemnity.

"Thus, with my kindest commendations, I end, and rest, your affectionate and assured friend,

"H. NORTHAMPTON."

*Postscript.*—"You see my Lord's earnest desire with my concurring care, that all respect be had to him that may be for the credit of his memory; but yet I wish withal that you do very discreetly inform yourself whether this grace hath been afforded formerly to close prisoners, or whether you may grant my request in this case, who speak out of the sense of my Lord's affection, though I be a Councillor, without offence, or prejudice. For I would be loth to draw either you or myself into censure, now I have well thought of the matter, though it be a work of charity."

This letter is endorsed by Sir Jervis Elways, as follows:—

"So soon as Sir Thomas Overbury was departed, I writ unto my Lord of Northampton; and because my experience could not direct me, I desired to know what I should do with the body, acquainting his Lordship with his issues, as Weston had informed me, and other foulness of his body, which was then accounted the ——. My Lord writ unto me, that I should first have his body viewed by a jury; and I well remember, his Lordship advised me to send for Sir John Sidcote to see the body, and to suffer as many else of his friends to see it as would, and presently to bury it in the body of the quire, for the body would not keep. Notwithstanding Sir Thomas Overbury dying about five in the morning, I kept his body unburied until three or four of the clock in the afternoon. The next day Sir John Sidcote came thither; I could not get him to bestow a coffin, nor a winding-sheet upon him. The coffin I bestowed; but who did wind him I know not. For, indeed, the body was very noisome; so that notwithstanding my Lord's direction we kept it over long, as we all felt,

"JER. HELWISE."

To the next letter the Earl, for obvious reasons, omitted to sign his name.

"WORTHY MR. LIEUTENANT,

"Let me entreat you to call Sidcote, and three

or four of his friends, if so many come, to view the body; if they have not already done it; and so soon as it is viewed, without staying the coming of a messenger from the Court; in any case, see it interred in the body of the chapel within the Tower instantly.

"If they have viewed, then bury it by and by; for it is time, considering the humours of that damned crew, that only desire means to move pity and raise scandals. Let no man's instance move you to make stay in any case, and bring me these letters when I next see you.

"Fail not a jot herein, as you love your friends; nor after Sidcote and his friends have viewed, stay one minute, but let the priest be ready; and if Sidcote be not there, send for him speedily, pretending that the body will not tarry. Yours ever."*

"In poste haste at 12."

* Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 481. See Ath. Oxon. and Cotton MSS. and Titus, b. vii. fol. 465. In addition to these, there is extant a third letter, written by Northampton to Sir Jervis Elways, previous to Overbury's death. As Lodge, I think, is the only writer who has remarked it, and as it tends to throw some question over the mysterious strictness with which Overbury was supposed to have been immured, it is but fair that the following important extract should be inserted: "In compliance," says the Earl, "with old Mr. Overbury's petition, it is the King's pleasure that Dr. Craig, this bearer, should presently be admitted to Sir Thomas Overbury; that during the time of his infirmity he may take care of him, and as often as, in his judgment, to this end he shall find reason."—*Lodge. Portraits of Illustrious Personages.*

How strange are the anomalies of human nature! The same wretched old man, the cold-blooded murderer, and the corrupter of his own niece, was a munificent patron of public charities. At Greenwich he built two colleges, one for decayed gentlemen, and the other for twelve poor men and a governor. At Rise, in Norfolk, he erected an hospital for twelve poor women;* and at Clun, in Shropshire, another charitable retreat for twelve poor men and a governor. He was also a writer on theological subjects.

Northampton was the author of several works, which are now either forgotten, or only casually recorded. He is included in Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, where there is a longer, but scarcely a more flattering notice, than he deserves.

The same man who made little ado about crime, made a great deal about religion. He was bred a Roman Catholic, in which faith, after changing his religion *four* times, he died.† At heart, however, there is little doubt of his having been a Papist throughout; indeed, he confessed as much in his will.‡ The appointment which he held as Warden of the Cinque Ports enabled him to give free ingress to the priests. Of this advantage he availed himself to such an extent, that the people

* Lloyd's Worthies, 780; Aulicus Coquin. in Secr. Hist. of James I. vol. ii. p. 158.

† Lord Orford's Works, vol. i. p. 335.

‡ Rapin, vol. ii. p. 184.

began to murmur, and the King himself exhibited symptoms of strong displeasure. Flattering himself, however, that actual proofs were wanting, Northampton commenced a persecution of several persons who had accused him of the connivance. An inquiry took place in the Star Chamber. The subtle Earl appeared to be carrying all before him, when the Archbishop of Canterbury rose from his seat. After a short premise, he produced a letter in court written in Northampton's own hand to Cardinal Bellarmine. In this epistle the Earl not only expressed himself a firm believer in the tenets of the Church of Rome, but assured the Cardinal, that though the features of the times, and the solicitations of his Sovereign, had compelled him to wear the mask of Protestantism, he was nevertheless prepared to enter into any attempt, which might be agreed upon for the advancement of their mutual faith.* The defamers were in consequence liberated, and Northampton retired in disgust to his house at Greenwich. He survived the disclosure but a few months; breathing his last on the 15th of June, 1614, in the 75th year of his age. Sir Henry Wotton writes, in a letter to Sir Edmund Bacon :—" The Earl of Northampton, having, after a lingering fever, spent more spirits than a younger body could well have borne, by the incision of a wennish tumour grown on his thigh, yesternight,

* Five Years of King James, Harl. Misc. vol. v. p. 335; Rapin, vol. ii. p. 184.

between eleven and twelve of the clock, departed out of this world; where, as he had proved much variety and vicissitude of fortune in the course of his life, so peradventure he hath prevented another change thereof by the opportunity of his end."* A curious letter is extant, addressed by the Earl to his friend Somerset, written in the last hours of life and in the full consciousness that he was dying. He seems to have regarded his approaching dissolution without fear, and to have interested himself entirely for those friends whom he would leave unprovided behind him. After preferring a few requests in their behalf, — "Assurance from your lordship," he says, "that you will effect those final requests, shall send my spirit out of this transitory tabernacle with as much comfort and content as the bird flies to the mountain;" and he concludes: "Farewell, noble lord; and the last farewell in the last letter that ever I look to write to any man. I presume confidently of your favour in these poor suits, and will be, both living and dying, your affectionate friend and servant,

"H. NORTHAMPTON."†

The Earl was buried, at his own request, in the chapel belonging to Dover Castle.‡

He built Northampton, or, as it is now called, Northumberland House, in the Strand, and, ac-

* Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 434.

† Dalrymple. Memorials of James.

‡ Wood's Fasti, vol. ii. p. 102; Harl. Misc. vol. v. p. 386.

cording to Lloyd, gave the design of the famous structure of Audley End. He was never married: one writer says of him, that "he was more wedded to his book than his bed, for he died a bachelor."* His hatred was as deadly as his conduct was treacherous. He said of the gallant Robert Mansel, "that he would be content to be perpetually damned in hell to be revenged of that proud Welshman."† In his will, Northampton inserted the following bequest:—"I most humbly beseech his excellent Majesty to accept, as a poor remembrance from his faithful servant, an ewer of gold, of one hundred pounds value, with one hundred jacobine pieces of twenty-two shillings apiece therein; on which ewer my desire is there should be this inscription—*Detur dignissimo.*" ‡

* Aulicus Coquinariæ. † Weldon, p. 26.
‡ Lodge, Portraits of Illustrious Personages.

## MARY, COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE.

Relations of this Lady—her Character—her Literary Works—her Death.

ALTHOUGH the character and pursuits of this illustrious lady render a notice of her somewhat foreign to the character of this Work, it may not be uninteresting to say a few words respecting the mother of Earl William and Earl Philip; moreover, it is refreshing to turn a moment from the glare of folly and of vice, to unpretending piety and intellectual refinement.

Mary Countess of Pembroke, was the daughter of Sir Henry Sidney, a Knight of the Garter, and one of the stately courtiers of Queen Elizabeth. She was the wife of Henry, second Earl of Pembroke, and the beloved sister of the memorable Sir Philip Sidney. Their tastes and habits were congenial: there was the same high sense of honour, the same elegance of mind, the same charitable regard for human suffering. Sir Philip dedicated his Arcadia to his sister, the being who best loved the author, and who was the most competent to appreciate the work.*

* Ath. Oxon. vol. i. p. 227.

She spent a long life and a splendid fortune in doing good to her fellow-creatures. She patronised men of learning, and embellished it herself; indeed, her wit and mental endowments appear only to have been exceeded by her piety. Dr. Donne said of her, that "she could converse well on all subjects, from predestination to sleave silk;"* and Spenser eulogises her as—

> The gentlest shepherdess that lived that day;
> And most resembling, both in shape and spirit,
> Her brother dear.

In her old age the cowardice and misconduct of her son Philip nearly broke her heart, and she is even said to have torn her hair with anguish when she heard the tale of his dishonour.†

The Countess was herself an authoress. She translated from the French, Mornay's "Discourse of Life and Death," and the tragedy of "Antoine;" the former printed in 1590, and the latter in 1600. Wood informs us, in a notice of William Bradbridge, who was Chaplain at Wilton, that with the assistance of that Divine, she completed a translation of the Psalms. He contradicts himself, however, in another place, and mentions her brother, Sir Philip, as the translator; adding that the MSS. curiously bound in crimson velvet, was bequeathed by the Countess to the library

* Ballard's Memoirs, p. 307.

† Osborne in Secr. Hist. of James I. vol. i. p. 224.

at Wilton.* Some agreeable specimens of her epistolary style will be found in Park's Noble Authors.

She died at an advanced age, in her house in Aldersgate Street, 25th of September, 1621. Her remains were interred in Salisbury cathedral, in the vault of the Herberts. Ben Jonson's admirable epitaph, though somewhat hackneyed, will, perhaps, bear repetition :—

Underneath this marble hearse
Lies the subject of all verse—
Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother.
Death, ere thou hast slain another
Wise, and fair, and good as she,
Time shall throw a dart at thee.
Marble piles let no man raise
To her name; for after days
Some kind woman born as she,
Reading this, like Niobe,
Shall turn marble, and become
Both her mourner and her tomb.

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* Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. pp. 228 and 704. Probably this translation was the joint production of the Countess and her brother Sir Philip Sidney. She certainly *versified* three of the Psalms, which will be found in the Nugæ Antiquæ of Sir John Harrington, vol. ii. p. 167.

# WILLIAM HERBERT,

## EARL OF PEMBROKE.

Character of this Nobleman—his Career at Court—his Reception at the Court of Elizabeth—his Marriage—his Conduct at the Council Chamber of James.—The King's practical Joke, and Pembroke's Retaliation. — Quarrel between Pembroke and Sir George Wharton.—Wood's Description of Pembroke. —Remarkable Circumstances attending his Decease.

THE life of Earl William is invariably a panegyric. Wit, gallantry, integrity, and refined taste, the highest breeding and the kindest nature, have rendered him one of the most delightful characters of his time. Though too high-minded and independent to make his fortune as a courtier, he was ever respected by his sovereign, was admired by all parties, and beloved by all ranks. He was neither subservient to Elizabeth, who was partial to him, nor to James, who stood in awe of him. He was liked by the courtiers because he asked for nothing; and admired by the country because he was indebted for nothing. He stood a superior being among the buffoons and sycophants of the court of James; among them, but not of them. He was loyal to his King, he loved his country and supported its institutions, he lived magnificently with-

out impoverishing his heir, and possessed genius himself and distinguished it in others. In a word, he was the patron of Shakspeare and of Inigo Jones.

With all these virtues and accomplishments, the Earl was not altogether exempt from the weaknesses of human nature. He was a staunch votary of pleasure, and too ardent in his admiration of women, for whom he sacrificed too much both of his fortune and his time. If these indulgences somewhat out-lasted the period of life, when alone they can be at all venial, they may be attributed perhaps to some unpleasant circumstances which embittered his domestic life.

William, third Earl of Pembroke, was born at Wilton, April 8, 1580. In 1592, at the age of thirteen, he was entered at New College, Oxford, where he remained two years. He succeeded his father in the family honours, January 19, 1601. In 1603, he was made a Knight of the Garter by James the First, and in 1609 Governor of Portsmouth. In the 15th year of King James he was made Lord Chamberlain, and in 1626 was unanimously elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford. Charles the First, at his accession, made him Lord Steward of the Household, and in the fifth year of his reign, Warden of the Stannaries.*

We learn from the Sydney Papers, that the Earl, then Lord Herbert, made his first appearance at

* Athenæ. Oxon. vol. i. p. 546; Collins' Peerage, vol. iii. p. 122.

the court of Elizabeth, about August, 1599; his father allowing him a retinue of two hundred horse to attend her Majesty's person. The old Queen received him graciously: her admiration of manly beauty still remained, but her favours were slighted by Lord Herbert. Rowland White complains bitterly of this circumstance in his letters to Herbert's uncle Sir Philip Sidney. On the 8th of September, 1599, he writes,—"My Lord Herbert is a continual courtier, but doth not follow his business with that care as is fit, he is so cold a courtier in a matter of such greatness." On the 12th of the same month he renews the subject:—"Now that my Lord Herbert is gone, he is much blamed for his cold and weak manner of pursuing her Majesty's favour, having had so good steps to lead him unto it. There is a want of spirit and courage laid to his charge, and that he is a melancholy young man. Young Carey follows it with more care and boldness." According to the dates of these letters his stay at court must have been extremely brief. At his farewell visit the Queen detained him in private conversation for an hour; no wonder, therefore, that his friends complained of his coldness.*

He married, about the year 1604, Mary, daughter of Gilbert, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury. She brought him a large fortune, but the advantage was negatived by a disagreeable person and an unen-

* Sydney Papers, vol. ii. p. 120. 122. 144.

viable temper, and Lord Clarendon speaks of their union as "most unhappy."

At the council-table of James, the Earl's conduct was manly in the extreme. Wherever the King's interests were really concerned, he not only opposed the flimsy flatterers of the Court, but even thwarted the King himself in some of his more objectionable measures. When the Spanish match was under discussion, notwithstanding it was the darling offspring of the King's brain, he opposed it so violently, that James is described as actually terrified at his vehemence.* Nevertheless, the King had sense enough to value his fidelity and open dealing, and though Lord Clarendon says, "He rather esteemed Pembroke than loved him;" yet his credit remained unimpaired. The Earl was an especial favourite with Anne of Denmark.

Pembroke is said to have entertained a singular dislike to frogs. James, aware of the prejudice, and delighting to a childish degree in any practical joke, took an opportunity of thrusting one of these creatures down the Earl's neck. The manner in which the latter revenged himself, though certainly pardonable, would have been attempted by few others about the court. James, as is well known, had the utmost abhorrence of a pig; one of these animals was therefore obtained, and lodged, by Pembroke's orders, under a particular article of furni-

* Wood's Fasti, vol. ii. p. 172; Lloyd's Worthies, vol. ii. p. 233.

ture in the King's apartment. His Majesty was extremely annoyed when he made the discovery, and the more so as the joke was played in the Earl's own house at Wilton.*

The quarrel which occurred, in 1608, between the Earl and Sir George Wharton, is too curious to be omitted. The particulars are thus related in a letter from Thomas Coke to the Countess of Shrewsbury :—

" I do not doubt but your Ladyship hath heard before this what honour my Lord of Pembroke hath got by his discreet and punctual proceeding in the question betwixt Sir George Wharton and him, yet for that, I have understood it by Mr. Morgan and others, particularly least your Ladyship may have heard it but in general, I adventure to advertise your Ladyship, on Friday was sevennight, my Lord and Sir George, with others, played cards, where Sir George shewed such choler, as my Lord of Pembroke told him, ' Sir George, I have loved you long, and desire still to do so ; but by your manner in playing, you lay it upon me, either to leave to love you, or to leave to play with you ; wherefore, choosing to love you still, I will never play with you more.' The next day, they hunted with the King, and my Lord of Pembroke's page galloping after his Lord, Sir George came up to him and lashed him over the face with his rod. The boy told his Lordship, who finding by strict examina-

* Lloyd's Worthies, vol. ii. p. 233.

tion, that the boy had not deserved it, demanded of Sir George why he did strike his boy? Sir George answered, he meant nothing towards his Lordship. My Lord said, he asked not that, but what the cause was why he did strike the boy? 'I did not strike him,' answered Sir George. 'Then I am satisfied,' said the Earl. 'God's blood!' said Sir George, 'I say it not to satisfy you.' 'But, Sir,' said the Earl, 'whoso striketh my boy without cause, shall give me an account of it, and, therefore, I tell you, it was foolishly done of you.' 'You are a fool,' said Sir George. 'You lie in your throat,' said the Earl. And thus the Duke of Lennox, Marr, and others, coming in, this rested, and every one began to gallop away on hunting, and the Earl being gone about six or eight minutes, Sir George spurred his horse with all speed up to him, which was observed by the Earl of Montgomery, who, crying, 'Brother, take heed, you will be stricken,' (neither party having weapon,) the Earl instantly received him with a sound backward blow over the face, which drove him almost upon his horse croup. But the company being present, they galloped again, till in the end the stag died in Bagshot farm, where Sir George taking opportunity to wait, came afterwards to the Earl, and offered him a paper, protesting there was nothing in it unfit for his Lordship to read. The Earl said, 'Sir George, give me no papers here, where all they see us who know what hath passed,

if you mean to do yourself right: but tell me, is not the purport of it a challenge to me?' 'Yes,' said Sir George. 'Well,' said the Earl, 'this night you shall have an answer, now let us talk of the ———;' and after calling Sir John Lee unto him, willed him to tell Sir George, that that night he should bring him the length of my Lord's sword. After being come home, and divers coming to his chamber, and Sir John (amongst the rest) only private to his Lordship's intent, 'O, Sir John,' said his Lordship, 'you are coming for the sword which I promised you,' and commanded his page to deliver unto him the sword which my Lord of Devonshire gave him, which he receiving as given, went, according to his former direction, to Sir George, [and] told him that was the Earl's sword; the next morning being Sunday, the time when they would fight, and, therefore, willed him to withdraw himself, and take measure of the sword. 'No,' said Sir George, 'it shall not need; I will have no other sword than this at my side.' 'Advise yourself,' said Sir John; 'that is shorter than this, and do not think that the Earl will take one hair's breadth of advantage at your hands.'

"Upon this, Sir George was first sent for, and after, the Earl, and the King's commandment laid upon them not to stir; after which Sir George came to Sir John Lee, and told him that if my Lord would break the King's commandment, he would do

the like. Sir John said, he knew the Earl was very scrupulous of breaking any of the King's commandments, but yet he would undertake upon his life to bring Sir George to where the Earl should be, all alone, with that sword by his side; where, if Sir George would draw upon him, his Lordship should either defend himself, or abide the hazard; but soon after, Sir George came to Sir John Lee, and told him, he had received another commandment from his Majesty, and resolved to observe the same. After, they were both convented before the Lords, and last before the King, and it was, as I hear, required that my Lord should give him satisfaction, which his Lordship said he should do thus: If Sir George would confess that he did not intend to have offended him at that time, he would acknowledge that he was sorry that he had stricken him, and thus it is ended."*

Sir George Wharton was killed in a duel, the following year, by his intimate friend Sir James Stuart, who also died of his wounds.

According to Anthony Wood, Earl William was in person "rather majestic than elegant, and his presence, whether quiet or in motion, was full of stately gravity." He speaks of him as the "very picture and *viva effigies* of nobility." The Earl, among his other accomplishments, was a poet, and the author of some "amorous and not inelegant airs," which were set to music by his contempo-

* Lodge's Illustrations, vol. iii. p. 359.

raries.* The following graceful trifle affords an agreeable specimen of his muse :—

Dry those fair, those crystal eyes,
Which like growing fountains rise
To drown those banks; grief's sullen brooks
Would better flow from furrowed looks;
Thy lovely face was never meant
To be the seat of discontent.

Then clear those watery eyes again,
That else portend a lasting rain,
Lest the clouds which settle there
Prolong my winter all the year;
And thy example others make,
In love with sorrow for thy sake.

The goddess of his idolatry was Christian, daughter of Edward Lord Bruce, who afterwards became the wife of William Cavendish, second Earl of Devonshire.

Some remarkable circumstances attended the Earl's decease. It had been foretold by his tutor Sandford, and afterwards by the mad prophetess, Lady Davies, that he would either not complete, or would die on the anniversary of, his fiftieth birthday. That these predictions were actually fulfilled, appears by the following curious passage in Clarendon's Rebellion. "A short story may not be unfitly inserted; it being frequently mentioned by a person of known integrity, whose character is here undertaken to be set down, who at that time being on his way to London, met at

* Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 546.

Maidenhead some persons of quality, of relation or dependence upon the Earl of Pembroke, Sir Charles Morgan, commonly called General Morgan, who had commanded an army in Germany, and defended Stoad; Dr. Feild, then Bishop of St. David's; and Dr. Chafin, the Earl's then chaplain in his house, and much in his favour. At supper one of them drank a health to the Lord Steward; upon which another of them said, that he believed his Lord was at that time very merry, for he had now outlived the day which his tutor Sandford had prognosticated upon his nativity he would not outlive; but he had done it now, for that was his birthday, which had completed his age to fifty years. The next morning, by the time they came to Colebrook, they met with the news of his death."

On the fatal day, the Earl had engaged himself to sup with the Countess of Bedford. During the meal, he appeared unusually well, and remarked that he would never trust a woman's prophecy again. A few hours afterwards he was attacked by apoplexy, and died during the night.* Granger, to make the story more remarkable, relates that when the Earl's body was opened, in order to be embalmed, the incision was no sooner made, than the corpse lifted its hand. The anecdote, he adds, was told by a descendent of the Pembroke family, who had often heard it related. The Earl

* Kennet, vol. iii. p. 61; Echard, vol. ii. p. 90.

died at his house in London, called Baynard's Castle, on the 10th of April, 1630,* and was buried near his father in Salisbury Cathedral.

The portrait of Earl William has been painted by Vandyke, and his character drawn by Lord Clarendon. The latter should be his epitaph: it is one of the most beautiful delineations of that illustrious historian.

* Ath. Oxon. vol. i. p. 546; Collins's Peerage, vol. iii. p. 123. As the Earl was born on the *eighth* of April, 1580, unless the dates are wrongly given, this discrepancy would tend to throw some doubt on Lord Clarendon's remarkable anecdote.

# PHILIP HERBERT,

## EARL OF PEMBROKE AND MONTGOMERY.

The Earl's Character. — King James's Partiality for him — his Progress at Court — his Appearance at the Court of Elizabeth — his Marriage to Lady Susan Vere. — The Wedding Banquet and Mask. — Montgomery's Insolence and Cowardice — he is Horse-whipped by Ramsey. — The Earl's Vanity as a Patron of Literature — his second Wife — his political Apostacy.—Burlesque of his Speech to the University of Oxford.—His Study of Physiognomy—his Death.

THE "memorable simpleton" of Walpole, who dimmed the lustre of a proud name by his cowardice, arrogance, and folly. Were we to believe but one half that has been said against him, his character would appear sufficiently odious. A favourite and a rebel can have no friends, and Montgomery, who was both, has had no admirers.

The Earl was the second son of the celebrated Mary, Countess of Pembroke, nephew of Sir Philip Sidney, and younger brother of Earl William. He was born about the year 1582.

He was the first acknowledged favourite of King James, after his accession to the English throne. His handsome face, his love of dogs and horses, and especially his taste for hunting, ren-

dered him peculiarly acceptable to that monarch. His influence remained unimpaired till the appearance of Robert Carr at Court, an event which quickly turned the current of Royal favour. However, as Montgomery neither remonstrated with James, nor showed any bitterness at his altered position, the King, who, above all things loved his ease and quiet, so far appreciated his forbearance, as to regard him ever after as his second favourite, whoever might chance to be the first.* On his death-bed James gave the greatest proof of his confidence in the Earl. When the suspicion broke on the dying monarch, that Buckingham and his mother were tampering with his life, it was to Montgomery that he exclaimed trustingly, "For God's sake look that I have fair play!"†

The Earl had received his education at New College, Oxford. On the 4th of June, 1605, he was created Earl of Montgomery, and, on the 10th of May, 1608, was made a Knight of the Garter. The favours which he obtained from James were not substantial, for during this reign he rose no higher than to be a Lord of the Bed-chamber. In the reign of Charles the First, however, he became Lord Chamberlain, and, to the disgrace of the University, Chancellor of Oxford. He succeeded his brother as Earl of Pembroke, 10th April, 1630.

His first appearance at Court had been in the lifetime of Elizabeth, where, though a mere boy at

* Clarendon, vol. i. p. 105. † Weldon, p. 161.

the time, he appears to have rendered himself conspicuous for that want of modesty, which afterwards formed so prominent a trait in his character, and became so distasteful to his contemporaries. Rowland White, in a letter dated 26th April, 1600, thus writes to Sir Philip Sidney:—"Mr. Philip Herbert is here (at Court), and one of the forwardest courtiers that ever I saw in my time; for he had not been here two hours, but he grew as bold as the best. Upon Thursday he goes back again, full sore against his will."* He seems to have shared the success of his brother in the tournaments and other sports of the period. We find,—

> The Herberts, every Cockpit-day,
> Do carry away
> The gold and glory of the day.†

He was privately contracted in October, 1604, without the knowledge of the friends of either party, to Lady Susan Vere, daughter of Edward, 17th Earl of Oxford. The family of the young lady exhibited some aversion to the match, but the King interposed and softened their prejudices.‡ On St. John's Day, 1604, they were married with great magnificence at Whitehall. The bride was led to church by Prince Henry and the Duke of Holstein, and the King himself gave her away. She looked so lovely in her tresses and jewels, that the

* Sydney Papers, vol. ii. p. 190.
† Lodge. Illustrations, vol. iii. p. 291.
‡ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 238.

King observed, "were he unmarried, he would keep her himself." After the ceremony there was a splendid banquet, succeeded by as gorgeous a mask. The following picture of the entertainments, as well as of the manners of the times, can scarcely need a comment:—"There was no small loss that night of chains and jewels, and many great ladies were made shorter by the skirts, and were very well served that they could keep cut no better. The presents of plate and other things given by the noblemen were valued at 2,500*l.*; but that which made it a good marriage was a gift of the King's, of 500*l.* land, for the bride's jointure. They were lodged in the Council-chamber, where the King, *in his shirt and night-gown*, gave them a *reveille matin* before they were up, *and spent a good time in or upon the bed;* chuse which you will believe. No ceremony was omitted of bride-cakes, points, garters, and gloves, which have been ever since the livery of the court; and at night there was sewing into the sheet, casting off the bride's left hose, and many other pretty sorceries."* By Lady Susan the Earl had several children, who outlived him.

Lord Clarendon says of Montgomery,—"There were very few great persons in authority, who were not frequently offended by him by sharp and scandalous discourses, and invectives against them,

* Letter from Sir D. Carleton to Mr. Winwood; Win. Mem. vol. ii. p. 43.

behind their backs; for which they found it best to receive satisfaction by submissions, and professions, and protestations, which was a coin he was plentifully supplied with for the payment of all those debts." The fact is, he was one of the most brutal, cowardly, and choleric persons, that ever disgraced a court. He appears to have been constantly engaged in some unbecoming quarrel. In 1610, a dispute with the Earl of Southampton proceeded to such lengths, that the rackets flew about each other's ears, though the King eventually made up the matter without bloodshed.* After he had become Lord Chamberlain, Anthony Wood observes quaintly, that he broke many wiser heads than his own. This remark refers principally to his unjustifiable attack upon May, the translator of Lucan. The poet, (who was also a gentleman of some consideration in his time,) while a mask was being performed in the Banqueting-house at Whitehall, happening to push accidentally against the Chamberlain, the latter instantly lifted his staff, and broke it over May's shoulders.† Wood says, that had it not been for the Earl's office, and the place they were in, "it might have been a question whether the Earl would ever have struck again." An account of the fracas is related by Mr. Garrard in one of his gossiping letters to the Earl of Strafford, dated 27th February 1633: "Mr.

* Winwood, Mem. vol. iii. p. 154.

† Biog. Brit. vol. v. p. 3067, Art. May; Osborne's Memoirs.

May of Gray's Inn, a fine poet, he who translated Lucan, came athwart my Lord Chamberlain in the Banqueting House, who broke his staff over his shoulders, not knowing who he was, the King present, who knew him, for he calls him his poet, and told the Chamberlain of it, who sent for him the next morning, and fairly excused himself to him, and gave him fifty pounds in pieces: I believe he was thus indulgent for the name's sake."* At the time of his well-known quarrel with Lord Mowbray, which took place in the house of Lords in 1641, he must have been nearly in his sixtieth year. Lord Clarendon says, that "from angry and disdainful words, an offer or attempt at blows was made." Probably a blow was really struck, for it is certain that Mowbray threw an inkstand at the thick head of his antagonist. They were both sent to the Tower by order of the Lords, and Montgomery was in consequence deprived by the King of his post of Chamberlain.

Early in life, Montgomery had himself received a lesson, which should have deterred him from assaulting others. In 1607, he had been publicly horse-whipped, on the race-course at Croydon, by Ramsey, a Scotch gentleman, afterwards created Earl of Holderness. This was the same Ramsey from whose hands, some years previously, the young Earl of Gowrie had met with his death. The affray caused so much excitement at the time, that

* Strafford Letters, vol. i. p. 207.

the English assembled together, resolving to make it a national quarrel; but Montgomery not offering to strike again, "nothing," says Osborne, "was spilt but the reputation of a gentleman; in lieu of which, if I am not mistaken, the King made him a knight, a baron, a viscount, and an earl in one day." Fortunately the truth of this story does not rest upon Osborne's statement, for, as the Earl was never a viscount, and as he was knighted in 1604, and made an earl in 1605, long previous to this disgraceful affray, we might have been inclined to discredit the whole account, had it not been confidently related by other authors.* Butler, in one of his amusing burlesques of the Earl's parliamentary speeches, makes him, at a later period of his life, thus allude to the disgrace of his youth. "For my part, I'll have nothing to do with them. I cannot abide a Scot, for a Scot switched me once, and cracked my crown with my own staff, the virge of my Lord Chamberlainship, and now they are all coming to switch you too."

It is reported of Montgomery that he was so illiterate that he could scarcely write his own name,† and yet he constantly gave his opinion on matters of taste, and insulted genius by patronizing it. We must remember, however, that to be a patron of literature was formerly a requisite ingredient in the fashionable world. The titled

* Sanderson, p. 366; Wilson in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 689.

† Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 546.

coxcomb sauntered into his levee, at which the wretched author presented his work, and for a false and fulsome panegyric received a donation of a few pounds: the latter obtained a dinner, and the former a character for taste and benevolence. Such is the degree of credit which we may fairly allow to Montgomery, of whom Osborne says, that "he was only fit for his own society, *and such books as were dedicated to him.*" Heminge and Condell, however, dedicated to Montgomery, and to his brother Earl William, the first folio edition of Shakspeare's plays; speaking of them as "the most noble and incomparable pair of brothers, who, having prosecuted these trifles, and their author living with so much favour, would use a like indulgence towards them which they had done unto their parent." This is such high praise; and so dear to an Englishman is anything connected with the name of Shakspeare, that we should be inclined to forgive many faults in a friend and patron of the immortal dramatist. Some importance, however, must be attached to the Earl's well-known character for vanity, and very little indeed to the suspicious encomiums of a dedication.

Montgomery was twice married. In 1630, after the death of his first wife Lady Susan Vere, he united himself to Anne, widow of Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset, and heiress of the Cliffords, Earls of Cumberland. Under what circumstances this religious, munificent, and high-spirited lady, united

herself to an absurd and profligate bully, we are not informed. It is certain, however, that their marriage was not a happy one; and as the Earl became more profligate with increase of years, she was eventually compelled to insist on a separation.* The Countess, who survived him many years, is probably best known by her famous letter to Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State to Charles II. when he applied to her to nominate a member for the borough of Appleby:—

"I have been bullied by a usurper, I have been neglected by a court, but I will not be dictated to by a subject: your man sha'n't stand.

"ANN DORSET,
PEMBROKE AND MONTGOMERY."

Had Montgomery contented himself with being a profligate, a gambler, a fool, or a coward;—had he been satisfied with tyrannizing over his wife, or with cudgelling, or being cudgelled, he would have avoided in a great degree the contempt and obloquy with which his name has been burdened. But when we find him turning rebel, and becoming an ungrateful apostate to the Prince who had raised him, words are scarcely sufficient to express our indignation and contempt. In 1649, though a peer of England, he sat as member for Berkshire, in the republican House of Commons, and was

* Brydges' Memoirs of the Peers of England, p. 171.

subsequently one of the Council of State after the beheading of King Charles. Butler celebrates the Earl's apostacy with his usual humour.

Pembroke's a covenanting lord,
That ne'er with God or man kept word;
One day he'd swear he'd serve the King,
The next 'twas quite another thing;
Still changing with the wind and tide,
That he might keep the stronger side;
His hawks and hounds were all his care,
For them he made his daily care,
And scarce would lose a hunting season,
Even for the sake of darling treason.
Had you but heard what thunderclaps,
Broke out of his and Oldsworth's chaps,
Of oaths and horrid execration,
Oft with, but oftener without passion,
You'd think these senators were sent
From hell to sit in parliament.

This Goth was actually selected by the Parliament to reform the University of Oxford. The speech which he made to the Senate of the University on this occasion, was admirably ridiculed in a pasquinade of the period, of which we cannot refrain from giving an extract. It is just the sort of composition which one would have expected from so silly a man, while it particularly reflects on an inveterate habit of swearing, which is known to have formed another offensive trait in his character.*

"My Visitors,

I am glad to see this day; I hope it will never end, for I am your chancellor. Some say I am

* Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 546.

not your chancellor, but dam me, they lye, for my brother was so before me, and none but rascals would rob me of my birth-right. They think the Marquis of Hertford is Chancellor of Oxford, because, forsooth, the University chose him. 'Sdeath, I sit here by ordinance of Parliament, and judge ye, gentlemen, whether he or I look like a chancellor. I'll prove he is a party, for he himself is a scholar; he has Greek and Latin, but all the world knows I can scarce write or read; dam me, this writing and reading hath caused all this blood. I thank God, and I thank you; I thank God I am come at last, and I thank you for giving me a gilded bible; you could not give me a better book, dam me, I think so; I love the bible, though I seldom use it; I say I love it, and a man's affection is the best member about him; I can love it though I cannot read it, as you, Dr. Wilkinson, love preaching, though you never preach."*

If this extract be not sufficient, the reader may turn to the posthumous works of Samuel Butler, the author of Hudibras, who has made himself very merry with the Earl's fantastic oratory. Indeed, so absurd were his speeches, both in the House of Lords and elsewhere, that they became a common joke at the period, and agreeably employed the wits in turning them into lampoons and ridicule.

Instead of reforming others, the time was ap-

* "News from Pembroke and Montgomery." Harl. Misc. vol. vi. p. 134.

proaching when the Earl might, with more propriety, have thought of reforming himself. He died on the 23rd of January 1650; not quite a year after the master whom he had deserted. He is said to have indulged in a pursuit almost as ridiculous as himself: he collected a vast number of portraits with a view to the study of physiognomy, in which he is stated to have made so great a proficiency, that James, placing an absurd faith in his discrimination, was believed to have employed him to discover the characters of foreign ambassadors on their first appearance at court.*

In a scarce lampoon of the period, the following lines are recommended for Montgomery's epitaph:—

> Here lies the mirror of our age for treason,
> Who, in his life, was void of sense and reason,
> The Commons' fool, a knave in every thing;
> A traitor to his master, lord, and king:
> A man whose virtues were to whore and swear,
> God damn him was his constant daily prayer.†

* Curiosities of Literature, vol. i. p. 272.

† "The Life and Death of Philip Herbert, the late infamous Knight of Berkshire, once Earl of Pembroke; likewise a Discourse with Charon on his Voyage to Hell." 1649, in verse.

# JAMES HAY,

## EARL OF CARLISLE.

Introduction of this Personage to King James — his rapid Rise in the Monarch's Favour — his Elevation to the Peerage. — Family Traditions. — The Earl's Magnificence. — Splendour of his Mission to Paris. — His costly Progress to Germany. — Dinner provided for him by the Prince of Orange — his unsuccessful Missions — his Extravagance in Costume. — Prodigality of his Feasts. — Ante-suppers. — Banquet given by the Earl in honour of the French Ambassador. — First and Second Marriage of the Earl — his ruling Passion in Death — his Character.

This magnificent personage, who shared so largely both the royal favour and the public purse, was the son of a private gentleman in Scotland. He was educated in France, and is said to have belonged to the famous Scottish guard, which was formerly maintained by the French monarch.* At the accession of James he hastened over to England, trusting that his showy person and foreign accomplishments would obtain for him those substantial favours, which most of his countrymen expected, and many obtained. He is said to have been introduced to James by the French Ambassador.†

* Weldon, p. 17. Lord Clarendon says, "He came into England with King James;" but this account appears to be incorrect.—*Hist. of the Rebellion*, vol. i. p. 108.

† Weldon, p. 17.

His rise was rapid, and not altogether undeserved. The elegance of his manners, his taste for dress and splendour, and a natural sweetness of temper, quickly rendered him a favourite as well with the King as with his courtiers. Few have had wealth and honours more quickly showered upon them; and, with the exception of profuse expenditure, few have borne the smiles of fortune with more modesty and discretion. He shunned politics, which would have made him enemies; and, by his unaffected courtesy and extensive hospitality, obtained the good will of those who might otherwise have been his rivals. Though positive talent must be denied him, he possessed a strong sense and a natural tact, which to a courtier are far more valuable than genius itself. He understood the King's character more thoroughly than any other man, and had sufficient shrewdness to perform, at least with credit, the various embassies with which he was afterwards entrusted. Wilson says of him: "He was a gentleman every way complete. His bounty was adorned with courtesy, his courtesy not affected, but resulting from a natural civility in him. His humbleness set him below the envy of most, and his bounty brought him into esteem with many." *

* Lord Clarendon says of this favourite,—he was a "person well qualified, by his breeding in France, and by study in human learning, in which he bore a good part in the entertainment of the King, who much delighted in that exercise; and by these means and notable gracefulness in his behaviour and

He was raised to the peerage in June 1615, by the title of Lord Hay of Sawley; but without the issue of letters-patent, or a seat in the House of Lords or Scottish Parliament: he was also merely allowed precedence after the Barons of Scotland. This singular kind of elevation would almost appear to have originated in a freak of King James; for the creation, we are informed, took place in the presence of witnesses, at nine o'clock at night at Greenwich.* In 1617 he was created Viscount Doncaster, and in 1622, Earl of Carlisle. He also obtained a grant of the Island of Barbadoes, and became a Knight of the Garter.

According to an old writer, King James, in his advancement of this favourite, merely repaid a debt which the royal family of Scotland had long owed to the Hays. "One Hay, his ancestor," writes Lloyd, "saved Scotland from an army of Danes, at Longcarty, with a yoke in his hand.† James Hay, six hundred years after, saved the King of that country from the Gowries at their house, with a *cutter* in his hand: the first had as much ground assigned

affability, in which he excelled, he had wrought himself into a particular interest with his master and into greater affection and esteem with the whole English nation, than any other of that country" [Scotland]. — *Hist. of the Rebellion*, vol. i. p. 108.

* Camden's Annals in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 644.

† Lloyd's editor, Whitworth, informs us, that in consequence of this act of valour the yoke is the Hays' supporter.—*State Worthies*, vol. ii. p. 60.

him by King Kenneth as a falcon could fly over at one flight, and the other as much land as he could ride round in two days." Lloyd also informs us, that the whole family fell, in former days, before Dublin Castle; and that the race would have been extinct for ever, but for a successful Cæsarean operation, which preserved the heir. To this circumstance, if it be true, the present Earl of Kinnoul, whose ancestor was the cousin and heir of James Hay, must be indebted for his existence and honours.

In the splendour of his embassies, the magnificence of his entertainments, and the excessive costliness of his dress, and other personal luxuries, the Earl, at least in this country, has never been surpassed. In 1616 he was sent to Paris, to congratulate the King of France on his marriage with the Infanta of Spain; being furnished, at the same time, with some private instructions regarding the feasibility and advantages of a match between Prince Charles and a daughter of France. Nothing could exceed the magnificence of this celebrated mission, and consequently, on the first day of his appearance at court, the whole of Paris turned forth, as the spectators of English splendour. The heart of old Wilson warms as he describes the scene:— "Six trumpeters," he says, "and two marshals (in tawny velvet liveries, completely suited, laced all over with gold, rich and closely laid) led the way; the Ambassador followed with a great train of pages;

and footmen in the same rich livery, including his horse and the rest of his retinue, according to their qualities and degrees, in as much bravery as they could desire or procure, followed in couples, to the wonderment of the beholders. And some said (how truly I cannot assert) the Ambassador's horse was shod with silver shoes, lightly tacked on; and when he came to a place where persons, or beauties of eminence were, his very horse, prancing and curvetting, in humble reverence flung his shoes away, which the greedy bystanders scrambled for, and he was content to be gazed on and admired till a farrier, or rather the *argentier*, in one of his rich liveries, among his train of footmen, out of a tawny velvet bag took others and tacked them on, which lasted till he came to the next troop of grandees; and thus, with much ado, he reached the Louvre."*

In 1619, he was sent Ambassador to Germany, with a view of mediating between the Emperor and the Bohemians. His progress to the Northern court, in which he was attended by the choicest of the young nobility of England, was scarcely less magnificent than his former mission to the French King. The expenses of his two first meals, on landing at Rotterdam, amounted to a thousand guilders, about a hundred pounds sterling, while his carriages are said to have cost no less than sixty pounds a day. A singular instance of his

* Wilson, p. 94.

munificence is recorded during this mission. An innkeeper of Dort, having calculated that the Ambassador must pass through that town, had made sumptuous preparations for his entertainment. The Earl, however, had chosen Utrecht for his route, and the zealous innkeeper was disappointed. The latter followed the embassy, introduced himself to the Ambassador, and complained of the loss which he had sustained. The Earl immediately gave him an order on his steward for thirty pounds.*

Wilson informs us, that the King was ashamed to tell the Parliament how much money this embassy had cost, and therefore "minced the sum into a small proportion." James, it may be remarked, in his speech to Parliament, in 1620, observes that, "my Lord of Doncaster's journey had cost him three thousand five hundred pounds," when it would appear from Wilson that the expenses could not have amounted to less than fifty or sixty thousand.

The Earl's magnificence, however, failed at least on one occasion in exciting all the admiration he desired. In his progress to Germany, the vicinity of the Hague to Rotterdam, (at which latter place he had landed,) rendered it necessary that he should pay a visit of ceremony to the Prince of Orange. It was no less imperative on the Prince to invite him to dinner, and accordingly it was hinted to his High-

* Lloyd's Worthies, vol. ii. p. 61; Wilson, p. 153.

ness, that for the entertainment of so splendid a guest, some addition to the usual fare would be requisite and proper. The Prince, whose homely habits led him to despise the costly refinements of his expected guest, was, perhaps, not unwilling to have an opportunity of exhibiting his contempt. Accordingly, he called for the bill of fare, and observing that *only one pig was nominated in the bill,* commanded the steward to put down another, — the only addition which he could be prevailed upon to make. Besides the general homeliness of such an entertainment, it is necessary, in order to give point to the story, to include a remark of Wilson's, "that this dish is not very pleasing to the Scotch nation for the most part;" an antipathy which, it seems, is still partially prevalent in Scotland.

In 1621, the Earl was again sent to France, in order to mediate between Louis XIII. and the French Protestants: he was also at Madrid during the matrimonial visit of Prince Charles, and corresponded with King James; but that he was employed officially is not probable. It may be here remarked, that, notwithstanding the Earl's talents for diplomacy were at least respectable, not one of his three missions was attended with success.

His splendid folly with regard to costume, even Lord Clarendon has condescended to mention. "He was surely," says his Lordship, "a man of the greatest expense in his own person, of any in

the age he lived; and introduced more of that expense in the excess of clothes and diet, than any other man; and was, indeed, the original of all those inventions, from which others did but transcribe copies." Arthur Wilson tells us, that "one of the meanest of his suits was so fine as to look like romance." This particular dress the historian himself saw, and thus describes:—"The cloak and hose were made of very fine white beaver, embroidered richly all over with gold and silver; the cloak, almost to the cape, within and without, having no lining but embroidery; the doublet was cloth of gold, embroidered so thick that it could not be discerned; and a white beaver hat suitable, brimful of embroidery, both above and below."

But it was in his feasts and entertainments that his extravagant prodigality shone most conspicuously. Like the Emperor Heliogabalus, he seems to have thought that what was cheaply obtained was scarcely worth eating. Since the days when that purpled profligate smothered his guests in rooms filled with roses, more fantastic hospitality can hardly be recorded. Osborne's account of one of the Earl's banquets is too curious not to be inserted in his own words:—"The Earl of Carlisle was one of the quorum, that brought in the vanity of ante-suppers, not heard of in our fore-fathers' time, and for aught I have read, or at least remember, unpractised by the most luxurious tyrants. The manner of which was to have the board covered, at

the first entrance of the guests, with dishes, as high as a tall man could well reach, and dearest viands sea or land could afford: and all this once seen, and having feasted the eyes of the invited, was in a manner thrown away, and fresh set on the same height, having only this advantage of the other, *that it was hot.* I cannot forget one of the attendants of the King, that, at a feast made by this monster of excess, eat to his single share a whole pye, reckoned to my Lord at ten pounds, being composed of ambergrease, magesterial of pearl, musk, &c.; yet was so far (as he told me) from being sweet in the morning, that he almost poisoned his whole family, flying himself, like the satyr, from his own stink. And yet after such suppers, huge banquets no less profuse, a waiter returning his servant home with a cloak-bag full of dried sweetmeats and comfets, valued to his Lordship at more than ten shillings the pound. I am cloyed with the repetition of this excess, no less than scandalized at the continuance of it."

Weldon mentions another banquet which was given by the Earl in honour of the French Ambassador, "in which," he says, "was such plenty, and fish of that immensity brought out of Muscovy, that dishes were made to contain them, (no dishes before in all England could near hold them,) after that a costly voydee, and after that a masque of choice noblemen and gentlemen, and after that a most costly and magnificent banquet, the King,

Lords, and all the prime gentlemen then about London being invited thither."* These *immense* fish were probably sturgeon. The necessity of waiting for the manufacture of the dishes could scarcely have improved their flavour.

James, not satisfied with heaping on his favourite unbounded wealth, secured for him, by especial mediation, one of the most wealthy heiresses of the period. This lady was Honora, sole daughter of Edward Lord Denny, subsequently created, in 1626, Earl of Norwich by Charles the First.

After the decease of his Countess, of whom little or nothing has been recorded, the Earl re-married, 6th November, 1617, Lucy, daughter of Henry, eighth Earl of Northumberland, a beautiful coquette, whose memoir more properly belongs to the succeeding reign. This Northumberland was the "stout old Earl," who had been fined 30,000*l.* and committed to the Tower for life, on account of his suspected share in the Gunpowder Treason. He was still a prisoner at the period of his daughter's marriage, to which he not only withheld his consent, but afterwards refused to aid them with his purse: nothing, he said, should induce him to give his daughter to "a beggarly Scot," or supply them with a groat.† They were married in the presence of the King. The bridegroom shortly afterwards obtained the release of his father-in-law from prison, but

* Weldon, Aulicus Coquinariæ.

† Aulicus Coquin. in Sec. Hist. of James I. vol. ii. p. 161.

even then it was with the greatest difficulty that the independent old Earl could be induced to consent to a meeting.*

After the death of James the First, we know little of the history of his gorgeous favourite. That he was not, however, entirely overlooked, is evident from his having been made first *gentleman* of the bedchamber to Charles the First, in 1633.† He died on the 25th of April, 1636, the ruling passion of his life still strong even in death: "When the most able physicians," says Osborne, "and his own weakness had passed a judgment that he could not live many days, he did not forbear his entertainments, but made divers brave clothes, as he said, to out-face naked and despicable death withal." The workings of the human mind are often fantastic and bewildering; but how strange must have been the conceptions of that man, who in such a moment could connect velvets and embroideries with skeletons and the grave! The progress of the Earl's last illness is more than once referred to by Garrard, in his letters to Lord Strafford. On the 15th of March, he writes, "Sunday night last, the 13th of

* Wilson, p. 130; Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 552.

† Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 140. It appears strange at first sight that Carlisle, who was a peer, should have been made a *gentleman* of the bedchamber. We find, however, that as late as George I. the Duke of Hamilton was merely styled First Gentleman, as was also the Duke of Lauderdale in the reign of Charles the Second. Formerly the title of gentleman implied, in its strictest sense, nobility.

this month, my Lord of Carlisle was dying, his speech gone, his eyes dark; he knew none about him, but in two or three hours he came out of this trance, and came to his senses again. Now he thinks he shall die, which before he did not, and is well prepared for it, having assistance from the best divines in town. His debts are great, above 80,000*l.* He has left his lady well near 5,000*l.* a-year, the import of the wines in Ireland, for which they say she may have 20,000*l.* ready money, and 2,000*l.* pension, newly confirmed to her by the King: little or nothing comes to his son. The physicians keep him alive with cordials, but they are of opinion that he cannot last many days."* His funeral, probably according to his own directions, was magnificent.

Lodge remarks, that "notwithstanding his expensive absurdities, the Earl left a very large fortune, partly derived from his marriage with the heiress of the Lords Denny, but more from the King's unlimited bounty." The fact, though not of much importance, scarcely appears to be corroborated by contemporary writers. Lord Clarendon says especially, that he left neither "a house nor an acre of land to be remembered by," and yet both Clarendon and Weldon estimate the sums heaped on him by James, as amounting to *four hundred thousand pounds.*

With all his faults—with all his folly and bound-

* Strafford Letters, vol. i. p. 525.

less expenditure, the spendthrift Earl has still some claims to be a favourite. Civility and common sense preserved him from the fate of Somerset and of Buckingham. He was modest, generous, and hospitable, neither depressed by adversity nor elated by prosperity. Sir William Davenant says of him, in a copy of verses addressed to his widow,—

> Cheerful his age, not tedious or severe,
> Like those, who being dull, would grave appear.

If he was not generally beloved, he was at least generally popular. If he spent largely, it was agreeably with the tastes and wishes of his sovereign; and if we are compelled to look upon him as a voluptuary, he was a sensualist without being selfish, and a courtier without being insolent.

# FRANCIS LORD BACON,

## EARL OF ST. ALBANS.

Bacon's Birth — his Boyhood — his Oratory — his Friends.— Hobbes of Malmsbury.—Variety of Bacon's Knowledge—his superb Manner of Living — his Venality.—Dishonesty of his Servants — his Humiliation before his Peers — his Retort to Gondomar.—Remark of Charles Prince of Wales.— Bacon's Ingratitude to the Earl of Essex.—False Aspersions cast on his Name.— His comparative Poverty.— Anecdotes.— His personal Appearance.—Anecdotes.—Celebration of Bacon's Sixtieth Birth-day.— Ben Jonson's Verses on the Occasion. —Bacon's Death.—Howell's Remarks on the Event.

To enter into any lengthened details respecting the life of Lord Bacon might be considered a reflexion on the reader; still, it may not be inexpedient to introduce some scattered anecdotes relating to an extraordinary man, over whose mighty mind and corrupt heart the Christian lingers with sorrow, the moralist with wonder, and the world at large with regret; — a man whom it is now difficult to praise, yet whom, but for some lamentable weaknesses, it would have been almost as difficult not to idolize:—

> If parts allure thee, think how Bacon shined,
> The wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind.

Lord Bacon was the son of Sir Nicholas Bacon,

Keeper of the Great Seal to Queen Elizabeth, and of Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Cook, tutor to King Edward the Sixth: this lady has been extolled by her contemporaries for her piety and mental accomplishments. Bacon was born, January 22, 1561, at York House in the Strand, formerly the residence of the Bishops of Norwich, and afterwards of the Villiers, Dukes of Buckingham.

Lloyd says, that "he was a courtier from his cradle to his grave, sucking in experience with his milk, being inured to policy as early as to his grammar." When a boy, Queen Elizabeth took much notice of him, admired his ingenious answers, and, alluding to the post held by his father, used to style him familiarly *her young Lord Keeper.** She once inquired the age of the gifted boy, to which he replied readily, that "he was two years younger than her Majesty's happy reign."†

It was remarked by the famous Earl of Salisbury, —that Raleigh was a good orator though a bad writer;—Northampton a good writer, though a bad orator;—but that Bacon excelled in both. Howell, who must have often listened to his oratory, speaks of him as "the eloquentest that was born in this isle."

He had the art of leading a man to the subject in which he was most conversant. His memory was astonishing, yet he argued, said Lloyd, rather from observation and his own reasonings than from

* Lives of the Chancellors, vol. i. p. 98; State Worthies, vol. ii. p. 118. † Fuller's Worthies, vol. ii. p. 110.

books. He spent four hours every morning in study, during which period he never allowed himself to be interrupted.

Ben Jonson and Richard Earl of Dorset were among the number of his friends. The latter was so great an admirer of his genius, that, according to Aubrey, he employed Sir Thomas Billingsley (the celebrated horseman) to write down whatever fell from the lips of the great philosopher in his social discourse. He liked to compose in his garden, accompanied either by a friend or amanuensis, who instantly committed his thoughts to paper. Among others whom he thus employed was Thomas Hobbes, of Malmsbury. Aubrey informs us that this person was so beloved by his lord, that he "was wont to have him walk with him in his delicate groves when he did meditate, and when a notion darted into his mind Mr. Hobbes was presently to write it down; and his lord was wont to say that he did it better than any one else about him, for that many times, when he read their notes, he scarce understood what they writ, because they understood it not clearly themselves."

His information on all subjects was astonishing. "I have heard him," says Osborne, in his Advice to his Son, "entertain a country lord in the proper terms relating to hawks and dogs; and at another time out-cant a London chirurgeon." Of money, he said, it was like manure, of no use till it was spread.

Sometimes he would have music in the room

adjoining that in which he composed. He was also accustomed to drink strong beer before going to bed; in order, we are told, "to lay his working fancy asleep, which otherwise would keep him waking a great part of the night."* Sir Edward Coke, though he affected to undervalue him as a lawyer, appears to have been envious of his talent.

We are assured by Lloyd that Bacon always fainted at an eclipse of the moon.

His manner of living was superb in the extreme, especially when he was left Regent of the kingdom during the progress of King James into Scotland, when he gave audience to the Foreign Ambassadors, in the Banquetting-house at Whitehall, almost with regal splendour. Aubrey said: "The aviary at York-house was built by his lordship, and cost 300*l.* Every meal, according to the season of the year, he had his table strewed with sweet herbs and flowers, which he said did refresh his spirits and memory. When he was at his country-house at Gorhambury, St. Albans seemed as if the court had been there, so nobly did he live. His servants had liveries with his crest; his watermen were more employed by gentlemen than even the King's. King James sent a buck to him, and he gave the keeper 50*l.*" Howell, in his letters, mentions a similar instance of his liberality, on his receiving a buck from one of the royal domains. He sent for the under-

* Aubrey, Letters of Eminent Men, vol. ii. p. 226.

keeper who had brought the present, and "having drunk the King's health unto him in a great silver gilt bowl," gave it to him as his fee.

Lord Bacon was not satisfied with common venality, but occasionally sold his decisions to *both parties*. Sir Symonds D'Ewes, however, says, that if he was the instrument of mischief, it was *rather from those about him* than his own nature, "which his very countenance promised to be affable and gentle." There is no doubt that this great dispenser of justice was duped in the grossest manner by his own servants: these people, we are told, robbed him at the bottom of the table, while he himself sat immersed in philosophical reveries at the upper end. Three of his servants kept their coaches, and more than one maintained race-horses in their establishments. A splendid casket of jewels, presented to him by the East India merchants, was embezzled, without his discovering it, by his own page.* When the fact was mentioned to him, that his servants had actually purloined money from his closet: "Ah! poor men," he said, "that is their portion."† When he returned home, after the knowledge of his disgrace, his servants, rising, as usual, in the hall to receive him: "Ah!" he said, "your rise has been my fall."‡ When they shortly afterwards deserted him, he compared them to

* Aubrey, vol. ii. pp. 224 and 226.

† Lloyd's Worthies, vol. ii. p. 125; Lives of the Chancellors, vol. i. p. 100. ‡ Lloyd's Worthies, vol. ii. p. 124.

vermin which quit a house when their instinct tells them it is about to fall.*

How extraordinary and how humiliating to human nature must have been that scene, when the great philosopher stood a cringing suppliant to his peers, "prostrating himself and sins;"† craving pardon of God and his fellows, and promising to amend that life which apparently, but for such exposure, would have been transmitted to posterity as proud and faultless as his genius. When he delivered the great seal to the four peers who had been commissioned to receive it:—"It was the King's favour," he said, "that gave me this: and it is through my own fault that he has taken it away." When the instrument was delivered to James, he muttered some words respecting his difficulty in selecting a successor—"As to my lawyers," he said, "they are all knaves."‡

Bacon was apparently little distressed by his fall. Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, happening to encounter him almost immediately after that event, with equal bad taste and bad feeling, wished him, ironically, a merry Easter!—"And to you, signior," replied Bacon, "I wish a merry Pass-over!" The reply not only comprehended a wish that the Ambassador were well out of the kingdom, but alluded to his supposed Jewish origin,

* Aubrey, vol. ii. p. 225.

† Aul. Coquin. in Secret History of James I. vol. ii. p. 267.

‡ Journal of Sir S. d'Ewes, p. 24.

the greatest insult which could have been offered to a Spaniard.*

Charles, at that time Prince of Wales, chanced to meet Bacon in his coach shortly after his fall. The disgraced Chancellor was retiring to the seclusion of his own house at Gorhambury, but accompanied with a train of horsemen, such as would have done honour to him in his prouder days. "Do all we can," remarked the Prince, "this man scorns to go out like the snuff of a candle."†

We should be far more inclined to forgive the gross corruption of this eminent man, but for his infamous ingratitude to his kindest, staunchest, and most disinterested friend, the unfortunate Earl of Essex: his treatment of that unhappy nobleman would have been disgraceful in a savage. It may be here remarked, that a far more detestable crime, even than ingratitude, has been laid to the charge of Lord Bacon; the details of which are given so minutely by Sir Symonds D'Ewes, that it is impossible not to attach some credit to the accusation.

Many false aspersions, however, have undoubtedly been cast on his name. Among others may be mentioned a story of Sir Anthony Weldon's, whose remarks are as scurrilous as his tale is undoubtedly untrue. A misunderstanding, he informs us, happening to exist between the Chancellor and the Duke of Buckingham, the former, being desirous

* Aul. Coquin. in Secret History of James I. vol. ii. p. 268.
† Ibid.

of obtaining an interview with the favourite, was kept waiting, during two successive days, in an apartment appropriated to the lowest menials in the Duke's household. Weldon affirms, that he himself saw him in this situation, seated on a wooden chest, with the Chancellor's purse and seal lying beside him; and that he subsequently discovered from one of the servants that this indignity was imposed by the express orders of the Duke. He adds, that when the Chancellor was at length admitted into the presence of Buckingham, he threw himself prostrate on the ground and kissed the Duke's feet. Judging from what we know of Lord Bacon's character, and especially from his letters to Buckingham, there is certainly no circumstance which tends in any way to support the charge of Weldon, either of such gross subserviency on the one hand, or so much insolence on the other. Bacon's manly and beautiful letter of advice to Buckingham, on his first coming into power, is certainly alone sufficient to rescue him from the absurd aspersions of a prejudiced scandal-monger.

Although the loss of power and place reduced him to a state of comparative poverty, the stories which are related of his being actually in distress and want are no doubt considerably exaggerated. Wilson informs us that, after his disgrace, he lived in obscurity in his house in Gray's Inn, and was in want to the last. The same writer embellishes his narrative with a curious tale. The *beer*, he informs us, in Lord Bacon's house being of a very bad qua-

lity, he occasionally sent to Sir Fulk Greville, (Lord Brook,) who resided in the neighbourhood, for a bottle of his lordship's beer. This boon, after considerable grumbling, the butler had at last positive orders to deny: "so sordid," adds Wilson, "was the man who had advanced himself to be called the friend of Sir Philip Sydney, and so friendless was the other after he had fallen from his high estate!"*

The degradation of this wonderful genius, while it distressed the good and gratified the evil, could even afford merriment to the wretched punsters of the age. Alluding alike to his misconduct and his poverty, his new titles of Verulam and St. Albans were easily converted into Very-lame and St. All-bones.† In the height of his distress, his neighbours in the country good-naturedly came forward, and offered to purchase an oak-wood on his property. "No," said Lord Bacon, "I will not sell my feathers."‡

Park has rescued from obscurity a copy of verses of no slight merit, the production of some philosophical poet of former days, who thus laments over the downfall of a great man:—

Dazzled thus with height of place,
While our hopes our wits beguile,
No man marks the narrow space
'Twixt a prison and a smile.

* Wilson, p. 160. It was Lord Brook's chief ambition to be regarded as the friend of Sir Philip Sydney; indeed, he directed the circumstance to be recorded on his tombstone.

† Journal of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, p. 18.

‡ Aubrey, Letters of Eminent Men, vol. ii. p. 224.

Then, since Fortune's favours fade,
You that in her arms do sleep,
Learn to swim and not to wade,
For the hearts of kings are deep.

But if greatness be so blind
As to trust in towers of air;
Let it be with goodness lined,
That at least the fall be fair.

Then, though darken'd, you shall say,
When friends fall off, and princes frown;
Virtue is the roughest way,
But proves at night a bed of down.*

Lord Bacon was himself a poet. Those who may be curious to see him in this light, will find some specimens of his muse in Park's "Noble Authors," and also in Aubrey's "Letters of Eminent Men."

Wilson describes Lord Bacon as of a middling stature, his "presence grave and comely;" but adds that he early wore the appearance of old age. Aubrey says, "he had a delicate, lively, hazel eye: Dr. Harvey told me it was like the eye of a viper." The same writer relates one or two characteristic anecdotes of this extraordinary man. He was once watching some fishermen from the garden at York House, and offered them a certain sum for the results of their draught, which they refused, considering it insufficient. On drawing up their net, they found that it only contained two or three

* Royal and Noble Authors, vol. ii. p. 200.

small fish. Lord Bacon told them they had better have accepted his offer. The men replied that they had hoped for better success. "Hope," said his lordship, "is a good breakfast, but a bad supper." According to Aubrey, none of his servants dared to appear before him except in boots of Spanish leather :—he could always detect common leather, which was extremely offensive to his nerves.

When the Bishop of London cut down some fine trees at the Episcopal Palace at Fulham, Bacon told him that he was a good expounder of dark places.

When some person hinted to him that it was time to look about him, "Sir," was his reply, "I do not look *about* me ; I look *above* me."

Queen Elizabeth, when on a visit to Lord Bacon at Redgrave, happened to make an observation on the small size of his house :—"Madam," he replied, "my house is small ; but it is you who have made me too great for it."*

King James, says Howell, once asked his opinion of a French Ambassador who had recently arrived. Bacon replied that he thought him a tall well-looking man.—"But what do you think of his *head-piece?*" asked the King. "Sir," said Bacon, "tall men are like houses of four or five stories, wherein, commonly, the uppermost room is worst furnished." I do not know whether this was the same French Ambassador, who told Lord Bacon, on their first

* Seaward, Anecdotes, vol. iii. p. 253.

introduction, that he had always compared him to an angel, of whom he had heard and read much, but had never seen. Bacon replied modestly, that "if the charity of others compared him to an angel, his own infirmities told him that he was a man."* If Bacon can at all be compared to an angel, it must certainly be to a fallen one.

In January, 1620, being then in the commencement of his sixtieth year, we find him keeping his birthday with some magnificence at York House, the scene of his early life, and the favourite residence of his age. His old friend, Ben Jonson, celebrated the occasion with his vigorous muse. It was a kind, and at that period, a valuable mark of respect, to the disgraced minister. Though the lines are occasionally harsh, the compliment is felicitously introduced.

Hail, happy Genius of this ancient pile!
How comes it all things so about thee smile?
The fire, the wine, the men? and in the midst
Thou stand'st, as if some mystery thou didst!
Pardon, I read it in thy face, the day
For whose returns, and many, all these pray:
And so do I. This is the sixtieth year
Since Bacon, and thy Lord, was born, and here;
Son to the grave, wise Keeper of the Seal,
Fame and foundation of the English weal.
What then his father was, that since is he,
Now with a little more to the degree.
England's High Chancellor, the destined heir
In his soft cradle to his father's chair,

* Biog. Brit. Kippis, vol. i. p. 489.

Whose even thread the Fates spin round and full,
Out of their choicest and their whitest wool.
'Tis a brave cause of joy, let it be known,
For 'twere a narrow gladness, kept thine own.
Give me a deep-crown'd bowl, that I may sing,
In raising him, the wisdom of my King.

Aubrey informs us, on the authority of Thomas Hobbes, that Bacon owed his death to his indiscreet eagerness in pursuing a philosophical experiment. He happened to be taking the air in his coach near Highgate, when an idea came into his head that flesh might be preserved in snow as well as in salt. The snow at the time lying thick on the ground, he resolved to make the experiment; but "staid so long in doing it," that he was seized with a shivering fit, and was obliged to be carried to Lord Arundel's house at Highgate. Unfortunately he was placed in a damp bed, by which his disorder was so much aggravated that he died in a few days.

His death took place on the 9th of April, 1626. Conformably with his own wishes, he was buried near the remains of his mother, in St. Michael's Church, St. Albans, the only place of worship in the ancient Verulam. His secretary, Thomas Meauty, erected over him a monument of white marble, to which Sir Henry Wotton supplied the inscription. Howell writes to Dr. Prichard, "My Lord Chancellor Bacon is lately dead of a languishing weakness; he died so poor, that he scarce left money to bury him; which though he had a great wit, did argue no great wisdom, it being one of the essen-

tial properties of a wise man to provide for the main chance. I have read, that it hath been the fortune of all poets commonly to die beggars; but for an orator, a lawyer, and a philosopher, as he was, to die so, is rare. It seems the same fate befel him that attended Demosthenes, Seneca, and Cicero, (all great men,) of whom the two first fell by corruption. The fairest diamond may have a flaw in it; but *I believe he died poor out of a contempt of the pelf of fortune, as also out of an excess of generosity.*" It may be remarked that the number and value of the legacies which he bequeathed by his last will, has led to a disbelief of Bacon's poverty. Dr. Lingard, however, justly observes, that "as his executors refused to act, it may induce a suspicion that he left not wherewith to pay them."

Not many years after the death of Bacon his grave was opened, and one King, a physician, became possessed of his skull. Fuller tells us that this remarkable relic was treated by King with "derision and scorn;" but the man, he adds, who "then derided the dead, is since become the laughing-stock of the living."

Lord Bacon is described as having borne adversity with as little moderation as he had done prosperity; and as having exhibited a pitiful and mean-spirited subserviency in his intercourse with the great. To this accusation, his letters to King James, after his fall, certainly attach some weight.

In an appeal which he addressed to Prince Charles, there was a passage which had more wit than reverence;—he said that, "as the father had been his creator, he hoped the son would be his Redeemer."* The name of Verulam Buildings, Gray's Inn Lane, still points out the spot where one of the residences of Bacon once stood.

* Howell's Letters, p. 186.

# EDWARD LORD HERBERT,

## OF CHERBURY.

Autobiography of this Nobleman — he is sent Ambassador to Paris — created Lord Herbert—his Marriage — his first Appearance before Queen Elizabeth—he is invested with the Order of the Bath.— Spirit of Knight-errantry in the days of James: Anecdotes.—Quarrel between Lord Herbert and the Constable de Luines.—Herbert's personal Appearance — his Poetry.— Contradictions in his Character.— Extraordinary Instance of Vanity and Inconsistency—his last Illness and serene Death.—Horace Walpole's Estimate of his Character.

The life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, written by himself, is one of the most curious works of the kind that has ever issued from the press. Who can read without delight a narrative, and such a narrative too, of the private foibles and most secret thoughts of the soldier, the statesman, the wit, and the philosopher. That he was truth itself is undoubted; and if his vanity sometimes occasions a smile, we must bear in mind the peculiar features of the period in which he lived. We must remember that chivalry was not then extinct, and that the smiles of beauty and the honours of battle were considered as indispensable in conferring, not only reputation, but respect. Gifted by nature with wit, beauty, and talent, and possessing cou-

rage almost amounting to a fault, can we wonder, that in a martial and romantic age Lord Herbert should have engaged the hearts of women, almost as universally as he won for himself the respect of men. If he speaks somewhat ostentatiously of his own merits, at least with equal candour he lays open to us his faults. His literary reputation is so well established, that comment would be tiresome, and praise superfluous.

Lord Herbert was born in 1581. According to Anthony Wood, his birth-place was a "most pleasant and romantic spot in Wales, called Montgomery Castle, the seat of his father, Richard Herbert."* At the age of fourteen he went to University College, Oxford, from whence he proceeded on his travels. At the coronation of James the First, he was made a Knight of the Bath, and in 1616 was sent Ambassador to Paris to intercede for the French Protestants. He held this important post for five years, when his famous quarrel with the Constable Luines procured his recall. In 1625, he was created by James I. Baron Herbert, of Castle Island, in Ireland; and in 1629, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, in Shropshire, by Charles the First. On the 28th of February, 1598, when only seventeen, he was married to a daughter of Sir William Herbert, of St. Gillian's. The match seems

* This is a mistake. Lord Herbert himself informs us that he was born at Eyton, in Shropshire, the residence of his mother's family, the Newports.—*Life of Himself*, p. 16.

to have been one of convenience; the lady, among other circumstances, being six years older than himself.*

Lord Herbert made his first appearance in London in his nineteenth year. "Curiosity," he says, "rather than ambition, brought me to Court; and as it was the manner of those times for all men to kneel down before the great Queen Elizabeth, who then reigned, I was likewise upon my knees in the Presence Chamber, when she passed by to the Chapel at Whitehall. As soon as she saw me, she stopped; and swearing her usual oath, demanded, who is this? Everybody there present looked upon me, but no man knew me, till Sir James Croft, a Pensioner, finding the Queen stayed, returned back and told who I was, and that I had married Sir William Herbert of St. Gillian's daughter: the Queen hereupon looked attentively upon me; and swearing again her ordinary oath, said it is pity he was married so young; and thereupon gave her hand to kiss twice, both times gently clapping me on the cheek."

Lord Herbert's account of his being invested with the Order of the Bath, throws a curious light on the manners of the time. The placing the spur upon the right heel was then an important part of the ceremony. His Esquire, he informs us, was standing near him, prepared to perform the office, when the Earl of Shrewsbury himself kindly ap-

* Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, by himself, p. 26.

proached him: "Cousin," he said, "I believe you will be a good knight, and therefore I will put on your spur; whereupon, after my most humble thanks for so great a favour, I held up my leg against the wall, and he put on my spur."

He then proceeds to describe the nature of the oath which he was called upon to take,—"Never," he says, "to sit in a place where injustice shall be done, without righting it to the utmost in my power, and particularly ladies and gentlemen that shall be wronged in their honour, if they demand assistance, and many other points not unlike the romances of Knight-Errant."

"The second day to wear robes of crimson taffeta, and so ride from St. James's to Whitehall with our Esquires before us; and the third day to wear a gown of purple satin, upon the left sleeve whereon is fastened certain strings weaved of white silk and gold tied in a knot, and tassels of the same,* which all the Knights are obliged to wear until they have

* This custom of fastening a knot or riband of white silk to the left shoulder of the Knight, is as old as the time of Henry the Fourth, the supposed founder of the order. Froissart says, that at his coronation, that monarch created forty-six Knights, to whom he gave "long green coats, the sleeves whereof were cut straight, and furred with minever, and with great hoods or chaperons furred in the same manner, and after the fashion used by Prelates; and every one of these Knights on his left shoulder had a double cordon, or string of white silk, to which white tassels were pendent." The appendix to Anstis' "Observations on the Knighthood of the Bath," affords a curious picture of the ceremonies of investment, in the reign of James the First.

done something famous in arms, or till some lady of honour take it off, and fasten it on her sleeve, saying, 'I will answer he shall prove a good knight.' I had not long worn this string but a principal lady of the Court, and certainly in most men's opinions the handsomest, took mine off, and said she would pledge her honour for mine. I do not name this lady; because some passages happened afterwards which oblige me to silence, though nothing could be justly said to her prejudice or wrong."*

It is curious to discover to how late a period of our history the spirit of knight-errantry descended. A Knight of the Bath at the present day may have achieved the insignia of his order at Waterloo or Trafalgar: he has won them perhaps by good and brave deeds, but little more is allotted to him than the merit of preserving them unstained. But, even as late as the days of James, there still existed that Quixotic enthusiasm, and that high standard of honour, which, however we may be disposed to regard them as fantastic, were once practised by the wisest and the best, and threw an undefinable interest over the social relations of former times. Let us see by what obligations a philosopher and historian, such as Lord Herbert, considered himself bound. The following circumstance occurred during one of his visits to the Castle of Merlon, the residence of the Constable de Montmorency, whither he had been

* Life of himself, p. 54.

invited by the Constable's daughter, the Duchess de Vantadour. "Passing," he says, "two or three days here, it happened one evening that a daughter of the Duchess, of about ten or eleven years of age, going one evening from the castle to walk in the meadows, myself, with divers French gentlemen, attended her, and some gentlemen that were with her: this young lady wearing a knot of riband on her head, a French cavalier took it suddenly and fastened it to his hat-band; the young lady offended herewith, demands her riband, but he refusing to restore it, the young lady addressing herself to me, said, 'Monsieur, I pray get my riband from that gentleman.' Hereupon, going towards him, I courteously, with my hat in my hand, desired him to do me the honour that I may deliver the lady her riband or bouquet again; but he roughly answering me, 'Do you think I will give it to you, when I have refused it to her?' I replied,—'Nay then, sir, I will make you restore it by force,' whereupon also, putting on my hat, and reaching at his, he, to save himself, ran away, and after a long course in the meadow, finding that I had almost overtook him, he turned short, and running to the young lady, was about to put the riband in her hand, when I, seizing upon his arm, said to the young lady, 'It was I that gave it.' 'Pardon me,' quoth she, 'it is he that gives it me.' I then said, 'Madam, I will not contradict you; but if he dare to say that I did not constrain

him to give it, I will fight with him.' The French gentleman answered nothing thereunto for the present, and so conducted the young lady again to the castle. The next day I desired Mr. Aurelian Townsend to tell the French cavalier that, either he must confess that I constrained him to restore the riband, or fight with me; but the gentleman seeing him unwilling to accept of this challenge, went out from the place, whereupon I following him, some of the gentlemen that belonged to the Constable, taking notice hereof, acquainted him therewith, who sending for the French cavalier, checked him well for his sauciness in taking the riband away from his grandchild, and afterwards bid him depart his house; and this was all that I ever heard of the gentleman with whom I proceeded in that manner, because I thought myself obliged thereunto by the oath taken when I was made Knight of the Bath, as I formerly related upon this occasion."*

Lord Herbert afterwards mentions another instance of similar gallantry on his part, which occurred in the apartments of Anne of Denmark, at Greenwich. A Scotch gentleman had snatched a riband from Miss Middlemore, a Maid of Honour, who begged Lord Herbert to procure its restitution. The delinquent refusing to part with it, Lord Herbert seized him by the throat, and had almost succeeded in throwing him down, when they were separated by the bystanders. Their subse-

* Life of himself, p. 59.

quent meeting in Hyde Park was prevented by an injunction of the Lords of the Council.

Lord Orford says of Lord Herbert, that "he returned the insolence of the great Constable Luines, with the spirit of a gentleman, without committing his dignity of Ambassador." This quarrel is a memorable one. The French King, Louis the Thirteenth, was preparing vigorous measures against his Protestant subjects, in whose favour Lord Herbert had been sent to mediate. His instructions were to obtain his end, if possible, by peaceable persuasions, or, should that appear impracticable, to enforce his arguments by threats. Having obtained an interview with the Constable, he explained to him calmly the great interest which the Court of England took in this religious warfare. De Luines inquired rudely by what right the King, his master, interfered in their affairs. "The King, my master," replied the Ambassador, "oweth an account of his reasons to no man; and for myself it is sufficient that I obey him." He added, however, "that if the question were asked in more courteous terms, he was willing to satisfy him on the subject." — "We will have none of your advices," replied the Constable. "That," said Lord Herbert, "is a sufficient answer; and I am now charged to inform you, that we know very well what to do." — "We do not fear you," said De Luines.—"If you had said that you did not love us, I should have believed you," said the Ambas-

sador. "By G—," retorted the Constable, "if you were not an Ambassador I would treat you after another fashion."—"If I am an Ambassador," said Lord Herbert, "I am also a gentleman, and this," laying his hand upon his sword, "shall be my answer." He then rose from his chair and went towards the door, to which De Luines, with a show of civility, offered to accompany him; but Lord Herbert told him, that after such language there was no need of ceremony.

He remained some days in the town expecting to hear from the Constable; but instead of a hostile message, he was informed by the Maréschal de St. Geran, that having mortally offended the minister, he was in no place of security. "As long as my sword is by my side," said Lord Herbert, "I am in a place of safety." The Constable, in order to lay a formal complaint against Lord Herbert, eventually procured his own brother to be sent Ambassador Extraordinary into England, and Lord Herbert was in consequence recalled. On his return to England he obtained an audience of King James; and having cleared himself from the charges which had been brought against him, requested his Majesty's permission to send a trumpeter to the Constable, challenging him to single combat. The King told him that he would consider of it; but the Constable shortly afterwards died, and the gallant philosopher returned to Paris.*

* Life of himself, pp. 152—157.

The strictest respecter of truth may unconsciously give too fair a colouring to a narrative of his own conduct. Perhaps de Luines was not altogether to blame. Certainly Lord Herbert was a hot-headed man, and Camden even goes so far as to make him the party most to blame, observing pointedly that he treated the Constable with irreverence.*

Lord Herbert is generally described as a very handsome man: Aubrey alone, who had been frequently in his society, speaks of him as a "black man:" the whole-length engraving of him, from the original by Oliver, which forms the frontispiece of Dodsley's edition of his Life, affords the same idea of his swarthiness.

It may not be generally known, that among his other accomplishments, Lord Herbert was no indifferent poet. There is an elegant copy of verses by him, entitled,—

AN ODE

Upon the Question moved, whether Love should continue for ever?

The two opening stanzas are very pleasing:—

Having interr'd her infant birth,
The watery Ground, that late did mourn,
Was strew'd with flowers, for the return
Of the wish'd bridegroom of the Earth.

The well-accorded birds did sing
Their hymns unto the pleasant time;
And, in a sweet consorted chime,
Did welcome in the cheerful Spring.

* Biog. Brit. vol. vi. Supplement, p. 87.

for thy glory, I beseech thee give me some sign from Heaven; if not, I shall suppress it.'

"I had no sooner spoken these words, but a loud though yet gentle noise came from the heavens (for it was like nothing on earth), which did so comfort and cheer me, that I took my petition as granted, and that I had the sign I demanded, whereupon also I resolved to print my book. This (how strange soever it may seem) I profess before the eternal God is true: neither am I any way superstitiously deceived herein, since I did not only clearly hear the noise; but in the serenest sky that ever I saw, being without all cloud, did to my thinking see the place from whence it came."*

Certainly Lord Herbert was a most conscientious Deist. According to Aubrey, twice a day he had prayers in his house, and on Sundays a sermon was preached by his chaplain.

In his last illness, when he knew himself to be dying, he expressed a wish that Archbishop Usher might be sent for. When it was proposed to him to receive the Sacrament, he said indifferently, that if there was good in anything it was in that, and at all events it could do him no harm. Under the circumstances the Primate refused to administer it, for which he was afterwards much blamed. Lord Herbert died serenely. Shortly before he breathed his last, he inquired the hour, and on receiving a reply, "an hour hence," he said, "I shall depart:"

* Life of himself, p. 172.

he then turned his face to the opposite side, and shortly afterwards expired.*

His death took place at his house in Queen Street, St. Giles's in the Fields, 1648. In his will, he gave directions that a white horse, to which he was much attached, should be carefully fed and attended to during its life. He also bequeathed a large collection of books to Jesus' College, Oxford. On the 5th of August, 1648, he was buried in the chancel of St. Giles's Church in the Fields."† "As a soldier," says Horace Walpole, "he won the esteem of those great captains the Prince of Orange and the Constable de Montmorency; as a Knight, his chivalry was drawn from the purest founts of the 'Faerie Queene.' Had he been ambitious, the beauty of his person would have carried him as far as any gentle knight can aspire to go. As a public Minister, he supported the dignity of his country, even when its Prince disgraced it; and that he was qualified to write its annals as well as to enoble them, the history I have mentioned‡ proves, and must make us lament that he did not complete, or that we have lost the account he purposed to give of his embassy. These busy scenes were blended with, and terminated by meditation and philosophic inquiries. Strip each period of its excesses and

* Aubrey, Letters of Eminent Men, vol. ii. p. 387.

† Ibid; Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 118. The Author has vainly endeavoured to discover a memorial of Lord Herbert's resting-place in St. Giles's Church. ‡ Reign of Henry VIII.

errors, and it will not be easy to trace out, or dispose the life of a man of quality into a succession of employments which would better become him. Valour and military activity in youth; business of state in middle age; contemplation and labours for the information of posterity in the calmer scenes of closing life."* Such is the outline of Lord Herbert's character, as it is sketched for him by the pen of another. He has himself completed the picture by his own curious delineation of his private thoughts and secret motives for action; forming, if not the most perfect, at least one of the most remarkable characters in the gallery of human portraits.

* Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury; Introduction.

## ARCHEE, THE COURT FOOL.

Use and Importance in former Days of the Office of Royal Fool. — Character of Archibald Armstrong, King James's Jester —his witty Sayings—his Success at Madrid—his Feud with Archbishop Laud — his Dismissal from Court — his Retirement after his Disgrace—his Gallantry.

In days, when the blessings of literature were unknown, and when the Sovereign could scarcely read or write, the royal fool, or jester, was a person of no slight importance in dissipating the dulness of a barbarous court. In the long nights and rainy days he must have been invaluable. At the insipid banquets of royalty, formality and stateliness disappeared before him: he enlivened illiterate boorishness, and gave spirit to flagging conviviality. The guests made him their butt, and he repaid their ridicule with impunity and applause. To the Sovereign his society was almost indispensable. In the presence of his fool the Monarch could unbend and be perfectly at his ease. He could either amuse himself with his buffoonery, or he could vent on him his spleen. Sometimes this singular familiarity appears to have produced a real attachment on the part of the jester. We find him taking advantage of his peculiar li-

cence, and under the mask, and in the language of folly, communicating wholesome and important truths to which the most powerful noble would scarcely have ventured an allusion.

The character of the Court Fool of former days is commonly somewhat undervalued. Generally speaking, he was a compound of humour, tact, and impudence; and obtained his title less from *being*, than from *playing*, the fool. In many instances, the man who wore a cap and bells, had quite as much sense as the man who was decorated with a coronet. Archibald Armstrong (for such was Archee's real name) was as shrewd, sensible, witty, and good-humoured an individual, as ever adorned the high station to which he had been called. In our times he would have probably been famous for conversational pleasantry, or as a writer of facetious fiction. Unfortunately his good sayings are now almost entirely lost to the world; the book of "Jests," which bears his name, is too wretched a production to be genuine. The man, who bearded and ridiculed the proudest prelate since the days of Wolsey, could never have uttered such indifferent nonsense.

His conversation with King James, when the latter was weak enough to trust his heir in the Spanish dominions, is quite admirable:—"I must change caps with your Majesty," said Archee. "Why?" inquired the King.—"Why, who," replied Archee, "sent the Prince into Spain?"—"But,

supposing," returned James, "that the Prince should come safely back again?"—"Why, in that case," said Archee, "I will take my cap from my head, and send it to the King of Spain."*

Archee, however tender of the Prince's safety, had no objection to trust his own person among the pleasures of the Spanish capital. Probably he followed in the train of some of the young courtiers, who hastened to join the Prince in his romantic expedition. His wit and his impudence made him as much at home at Madrid as he had formerly been in London. While the Prince could with difficulty interchange a syllable with his beloved Infanta, Archee was not only admitted into her presence, but became a familiar favourite with the Spanish ladies. "Our *cousin*, Archee," says Howell," in one of his curious letters from Madrid, "hath more privilege than any, for he often goes with his fool's coat, where the Infanta is with her *meninas*, and ladies of honour, and keeps a blowing and blustering amongst them, and flirts out what he lists." One day, the subject of conversation was the gallantry of the Duke of Bavaria, who, at the head of an inconsiderable force, had routed a large army of the Palsgrave. The latter being son-in-law to King James, rendered the topic a displeasing one to an Englishman. "I will tell you a stranger circumstance," said Archee; "is it not more singular that one hundred and forty ships

* Coke, vol. i. p. 143; Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, 499.

should have sailed from Spain, to attack England, and that not ten of them should have returned to tell what became of the rest?"*

Archee's famous feud with Archbishop Laud must have been productive of considerable amusement to the more mischievous courtiers. He once asked permission to say grace, at a dinner where that dignified prelate was present. On his request being granted: "Great praise," he said, "be to God, and little *Laud* to the Devil." Osborne says, in his Advice to a Son,—"He was not only able to continue the dispute for diverse years, but received such encouragements from the standers-by, as he hath oft, in my hearing, belched in his face such miscarriages as he was really guilty of, and might, but for this foul-mouthed Scot, have been forgotten." There is a pamphlet in the British Museum, curious from its scarcity, entitled Archee's Dream.† Unfortunately it contains no particulars respecting the history of this remarkable humourist, and is, in fact, little more than a malicious tirade against Laud, during whose imprisonment it was published. There is a poetical postscript which concludes as follows:—

> His fool's coat now is in far better case,
> Than he who yesterday had so much grace.
> Changes of time surely cannot be small,
> When Jesters rise, and Archbishops fall.

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* Howell's Letters, p. 139.

† Archee's Dream. Sometimes Jester to his Majesty, 1641.

The discomfiture of the Archbishop, when he attempted to introduce the English Liturgy into the Scottish Church, appears to have been highly gratifying to Archee. A stool had been thrown at the Clergyman's head who first attempted to read it in St. Giles's Church, Edinburgh: Archee facetiously called it *the stool of repentance.** The religious commotions which followed excited considerable uneasiness at Court: in the midst of them, Archee happened to encounter the Archbishop on his way to the Council Chamber. "Ah," said he, "who's the fool now?" For this and other insolences Laud immediately laid a complaint before the King, who was present in Council at the time. When brought before the Council he pleaded *the privilege of his coat*, but buffoonery was now out of place, and he was sentenced to be dismissed from his post. The order, dated Whitehall, 11th of March, 1637, is still preserved, and runs as follows:—

It is this day ordered by his Majesty, with the advice of the Board, that Archibald Armstrong, the King's fool, for certain scandalous words of a high nature, spoken by him against the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, his grace, and proved to be uttered by him by two witnesses, shall have his coat pulled over his head, and be discharged of the King's service, and banished the court; for which the Lord Chamberlain of the King's household is prayed and required to give order to be exe-

* Granger, vol. iii. p. 242.

cuted. And immediately the same was put in execution."*

The circumstances of Archee's dismissal are more fully described by Mr. Garrard, in a letter to the Earl of Strafford. He writes, 20th March 1637, "Archee is fallen into a great misfortune; a fool he would be, but a foul-mouthed knave he has proved himself. Being in a tavern in Westminster drunk, (he says himself he was speaking of the Scottish business,) he fell a railing on my Lord of Canterbury, said-he was a monk, a rogue, and a traitor. Of this his Grace complained at council, the King being present: it was ordered he should be carried to the porter's lodge, his coat pulled over his ears, and kicked out of the court, never to enter within the gates, and to be called into the Star Chamber. The first part is done, but my Lord of Canterbury hath interceded to the King, that there it should end. There is a new fool in his place, Muckle John, but he will ne'er be so rich, for he cannot abide money."†

The writer of the Scout's Discovery, printed in 1642, mentions his falling in with the discarded mountebank about a week after his dismissal. "I met Archee," he says, "at the Abbey all in black. Alas! poor fool, thought I, he mourns for his country. I asked him about his coat. O, quoth he, my Lord of Canterbury hath taken it from me,

* Rushworth, Hist. Collections, vol. ii. p. 471.

† Strafford Letters, vol. ii, p. 154.

because either he, or some of the Scots bishops may have the use of it themselves; but he hath given me a black coat for it; and now I may speak what I please, so it be not against the prelates, for this coat hath a greater privilege than the other had."*

Archee, after his disgrace, retired to the scene of his birth, Arthuret, in Cumberland, where he died at an advanced age in 1672. Whether the fallen jester merely carried with him his court gallantry, or whether the ladies of this retired village entertained some Oriental notions as to the physical qualities of a fool, certain it is that the parish register of Arthuret bears record to his regard for the fair sex. The following notices were extracted from it by Lysons :†

> "Francis, the base son of Archibald Armstrong, baptized December 17, 1643."
> "Archibald Armstrong and Sybella Bell, married June 4, 1646."
> "Archibald Armstrong, buried April 1st, 1672."

It appears by the Strafford Papers, and also by the following lines attached to the portrait which is prefixed to his "Jests," that Archee had contrived to make his fortune before he was disgraced:

> Archee, by Kings and Princes graced of late,
> Jested himself into a fair estate;
> And, in this book, doth to his friends commend,
> His jeers, taunts, tales, which no man can offend.

* Morgan's Phœnix Britannicus, p. 462.
† Lysons, Hist. of Cumberland, p. 13.

He was buried in the church-yard of Arthuret, but there is no memorial of the burial-place of the jester.

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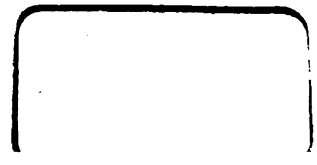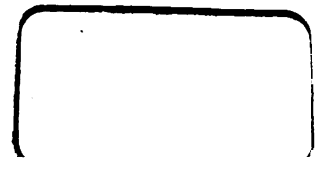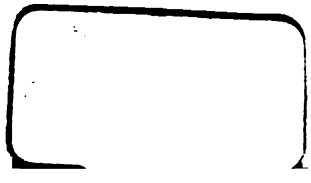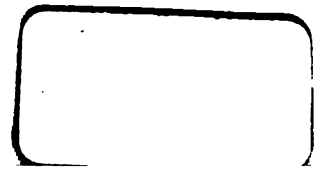
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